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Miscellanies

BY

The Late Lord Marquis

OF

HALIFAX.

VIZ.

- I. *Advice to a* DAUGHTER.
- II. *The Character of a* TRIMMER.
- III. *The Anatomy of an* EQUIVALENT.
- IV. *A Letter to a* DISSENTER.
- V. *Cautions for Choice of* PARLIAMENT MEN.
- VI. *A Rough Draught of a* NEW MODEL at SEA.
- VII. *Maxims of* STATE, &c.

Montague

L O N D O N :

Printed for *W. Rogers* at the *Sign* against *St. Dunstan's* Church; *Benj. Tooke* at the *Middle-Temple-Gate* in *Fleet-street*; and *D. Midwinter* and *T. Leigh* at the *Rose and Crown* in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*. 1704

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W. Burgeve.



THE
Lady's New-Years-Gift :
OR,
ADVICE
TO A
DAUGHTER.

Dear Daughter,

I Find, that even our most pleasing Thoughts *will* be unquiet; they *will* be in motion; and the *Mind* can have no rest whilst it is possess'd by a daring Passion. You are at present the cheif Object of my *Care*, as well as of my *Kindness*, which sometimes throweth me into *Visions* of your being happy in the World, that are better suited to my partial *Wishes*, than to my reasonable *Hopes* for you. At other times, when my *Fears* prevail.

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vail, I shrink as if I was struck, at the Prospect of *Danger*, to which a young Woman must be expos'd. By how much the more *Lively*, so much the more *Liable* you are to be hurt; as the finest Plants are the soonest nipped by the *Frost*. Whilst you are playing full of Innocence, the spitefull World will bite, except you are guarded by your *Caution*. Want of *Care* therefore, my dear Child, is never to be excus'd; since, as to *this* World, it hath the same effect as want of *Vertue*. Such an early sprouting Wit, requireth so much the more to be sheltred by some *Rules*, like something strew'd on tender Flowers to preserve them from being blasted. You must take it well to be prun'd by so kind a Hand as that of a *Father*. There may be some bitterness in meer Obedience: The natural Love of *Liberty* may help to make the Commands of a Parent harder to go down: Some inward resistance there will be, where *Power* and not *Choice* maketh us move. But when a *Father* layeth aside his Authority, and persuadeth only by his Kindness, you will never answer it to Good Nature, if it hath not weight with you.

A great part of what is said in the following *Discourse* may be above the present

sent growth of your Understanding; but that becoming every day taller, will in a little time reach up to it, so as to make it easie to you. I am willing to begin with you before your *Mind* is quite form'd, that being the time in which it is most capable of receiving a *Colour* that will last when it is mix'd with it. Few things are well learnt, but by early *Precepts*: Those well infus'd, make them *Natural*; and we are never sure of retaining what is valuable, till by a continued *Habit* we have made it a Piece of us.

Whether my skill can draw the Picture of a fine Woman, may be a question: but it can be none, That I have drawn that of a kind *Father*: If you will take an exact Copy, I will so far presume upon my Workmanship, as to undertake you shall not make an ill *Figure*. Give me so much Credit as to try, and I am sure that neither your Wishes nor mine shall be disappointed by it.

RELIGION.

THe first thing to be considered, in *Religion*. It must be the cheif Object of your Thoughts, since it would

be a vain thing to direct your *Behaviour* in the World, and forget that which you are to have towards him who made it.

In a strict sense, it is the only thing necessary: you must take it into your *Mind*, and from thence throw it into your *Heart*, where you are to embrace it so close as never to lose the *Possession* of it. But then it is necessary to distinguish between the *Reality* and the *Pretence*.

Religion doth not consist in believing the Legend of the *Nursery*, where Children with their *Milk* are fed with the Tales of Witches, Hobgoblins, Prophecies, Miracles. We suck in so greedily these early *Mistakes*, that our riper *Understanding* hath much ado to cleanse our *Minds* from this kind of *Trash*: The Stories are so entertaining, that we do not only believe them, but relate them: which makes the discovery of the *Truth* somewhat grievous, when it makes us lose such a Field of Impertinence' where we might have diverted our selves, besides the throwing some shame upon us for having ever received them. This is making the *World* a *Jest*, and imputing to God Almighty, That the Province he assigneth to the Devil, is to play at Blindmans buff, and shew Tricks with Man-kind

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kind; and is so far from being *Religion*, that it is not *Sense*, and hath right only to be call'd that kind of Devotion, of which *Ignorance* is the undoubted *Mother*, without competition or dispute. These Mistakes are therefore to be left off with your Hanging sleeves; and you ought to be as much out of countenance to be found with them about you, as to be seen playing with Babies at an *Age* when other things are expected from you.

The next thing to be observ'd to you, is, That *Religion* doth as little consist in loud Answers and devout Convulsions at Church, or Praying in an extraordinary manner. Some Ladies are so extreme stirring at *Church*, that one would swear the *Worm* in their *Conscience* made them so unquiet. Others will have such a Divided Face between a *Devout Goggle* and an *Inviting Glance*, that the unnatural Mixture maketh even the *best Looks* to be at that time *ridiculous*. These affected *Appearances* are ever suspected, like very strong *Perfumes*, which are generally thought no very good Symptoms in those that make use of them. Let your earnestness therefore be reserv'd for your *Closet*, where you may have God Almighty to your self: In *Publick* be still and calm, neither undecent-

ly *Careless*, nor *Affected* in the other Extream.

It is not true Devotion, to put on an angry *Zeal* against those who may be of a differing Persuasion. *Partiality* to our selves makes us often mistake it for a *Duty*, to fall hard upon others in that case; and being push'd on by *Self-conceit*, we strike without mercy, believing that the *Wounds* we give are *Meritorious*, and that we are fighting God Almighty's Quarrel; when the truth is, we are only setting out our selves. Our *Devotion* too often breaketh out into that *Shape* which most agreeth with our particular *Temper*. The *Cholerick* grow into a hardned Severity against all who dissent from them; snatch at all the Texts of Scripture that suit with their *Complexion*; and because God's Wrath was some time kindled, they conclude, That *Anger* is a Divine Vertue; and are so far from imagining their ill natur'd *Zeal* requireth an *Apology*, that they value themselves upon it, and triumph in it. *Others*, whose Nature is more Credulous than ordinary, admit no Bounds or Measure to it; they grow as proud of extending their *Faith*, as Princes are of enlarging their *Dominions*; not considering that our *Faith*, like our Stomach, is
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capable of being over-charg'd ; and that as the last is destroy'd by taking in more than it can digest, so our *Reason* may be extinguish'd by oppressing it with the weight of too many strange things ; especially if we are forbidden to chew what we are commanded to swallow. The *Melancholly* and the *Sullen* are apt to place a great part of their *Religion* in dejected or ill-humor'd *Looks*, putting on an unsociable Face, and declaiming against the Innocent Entertainments of *Life*, with as much sharpness as they could bestow upon the greatest *Crimes*. This generally is only a *Vizard*, there is seldom any thing real in it. No other thing is the better for being *Sower* ; and it would be hard that *Religion* should be so, which is the best of things. In the mean time it may be said with truth, That this *surly* kind of *Devotion* hath perhaps done little less hurt in the World, by frightening, than the most scandalous *Examples* have done by infecting it.

Having told you, in these few Instances, to which many more might be added, what is not true *Religion* ; it is time to describe to you, what is so. The ordinary *Definitions* of it are no more like it, than the common Sign-posts are like the Princes

they would represent. The unskilful *Dawbers* in all Ages have generally laid on such ill *Colours*, and drawn such harsh *Lines*, that the Beauty of it is not easily to be discerned: They have put in all the forbidding Features that can be thought of; and in the first place, have made it an irreconcilable Enemy to *Nature*; when, in reality they are not only *Friends*, but *Twins*, born together at the same time; and it is doing violence to them both, to go about to have them separated. Nothing is so kind and so inviting as true and *unsophisticated Religion*: Instead of imposing unnecessary Burdens upon our *Nature*, it easeth us of the greater weight of our *Passions* and *Mistakes*: Instead of subduing us with *Rigour*, it redeemeth us from the *Slavery* we are in to our selves, who are the most severe Masters, whilst we are under the Usurpation of our *Appetites* let loose and not restrain'd.

Religion is a chearful thing, so far from being always at *Cuffs* with *Good Humour*, that it is inseparably united to it. Nothing unpleasant belongs to it, though the *Spiritual Cooks* have done their unskilful part to give an ill *Relish* to it. A wise *Epicure* would be *Religious* for the sake of *Pleasure*; Good Sense is the Foundation
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of both and he is a *Bungler* who aimeth at true *Luxury*, but where they are join'd.

Religion is exalted *Reason*, refin'd and sifted from the grosser parts of it: It dwelleth in the upper Region of the *Mind*, where there are fewest *Clouds* or *Mists* to darken or offend it: It is both the Foundation and the Crown of all Vertues: It is *Morality* improv'd and rais'd to its height, by being carried nearer *Heaven*, the only place where *Perfection* resideth. It cleanseth the *Understanding*, and brusheth off the Earth that hangeth about our *Souls*. It doth not want the *Hopes* and the *Terrors* which are made use of to support it; neither ought it to descend to the borrowing any Argument out of it self, since there we may find every thing that should invite us. If we were to be hired to *Religion*, it is able to out-bid the corrupted World, with all it can offer to us, being so much the *Richer* of the two, in every thing where *Reason* is admitted to be a Judge of the Value.

Since this is so, it is worth your pains to make *Religion* your *Choice*, and not make use of it only as a *Refuge*. There are Ladies who finding by the too visible decay of their good Looks, that they can shine no more by that *Light*, put on the
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Varnish of an affected Devotion, to keep up some kind of Figure in the World. They take Sanctuary in the *Church*, when they are pursued by growing *Contempt* which will not be stopt, but followeth them to the *Altar*. Such late penitence is only a disguise for the tormenting grief of being no more handsome. That is the killing thought which draweth the sighs and tears, that appear outwardly to be applied to a better end.

There are many who have an *Aguish Devotion*, Hot and Cold Fits, long Intermissions, and violent Raptures. This unevenness is by all means to be avoided. Let your method be a steady Course of good *Life*, that may run like a smooth Stream, and be a perpetual Spring to furnish to the continued *Exercise* of *Vertue*. Your *Devotion* may be earnest, but it must be unconstrained and like other Duties, you must make it your *Pleasure* too, or else it will have very little efficacy. By this *Rule* you may best judge of your own Heart. Whilst those *Duties* are *Joys*, it is an evidence of their being sincere; but when they are a *Penance*, it is a sign that your *Nature* maketh some resistance; and whilst that lasteth, you can never be entirely secure of your self.

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If you are often unquiet, and too nearly touch'd by the cross Accidents of *Life*, your *Devotion* is not of the right *Standard*, there is too much *Alloy* in it. That which is right and unmixt, taketh away the *Sting* of every thing that would trouble you: It is like a healing *Balm*, that extinguisheth the sharpness of the Blood; so this softeneth and dissolveth the *Anguish* of the *Mind*. A devout *Mind* hath the Privilege of being free from *Passions*, as some *Climates* are from all venomous kind of *Creatures*. It will raise you above the little *Vexations* to which others for want of it, will be expos'd, and bring you to a *Temper*, not of stupid *Indifference*, but of such a wise *Resignation*, that you may live in the *World*, so as it may hang about you like a loose Garment, and not tied too close to you.

Take heed of running into that common *Error*, of applying God's Judgments upon particular Occasions. Our Weights and Measures are not competent to make the Distribution either of his *Mercy* or his *Justice*: He hath thrown a Veil over these things, which makes it not only an *Impertinence*, but a kind of *Sacrilege*, for us to give Sentence in them without his *Commission*.

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As to your particular *Faith*, keep to the *Religion* that is grown up with you, both as it is the best in it self, and that the reason of staying in it upon that Ground is somewhat stronger for your *Sex*, than it will perhaps be allow'd to be for ours; in respect that the Voluminous enquiries into the *Truth*, by Reading, are less expected from you. The *Best* of *Books* will be direction enough to you not to change; and whilst you are fix'd and sufficiently confirm'd in your own *Mind*, you will do best to keep vain *Doubts* and *Scruples* at such a distance that they may give you no disquiet.

Let me recommend you to a Method of being rightly inform'd, which can never fail: It is in short this. Get *Understanding*, and practice *Vertue*. And if you are so *Blessed* as to have those for your *Share* it is not surer that there is a *God*, than it is, that by him all *Necessary Truths* will be revealed to you.

HUSBAND.

THAT which challengeth the place in your Thoughts, is how to live with a *Husband*. And though that is so large a Word, that few *Rules* can be fix'd to it which are

are unchangeable, the *Methods* being as various as the several *Temper*s of *Men* to which they must be suited: yet I cannot omit some *General Observations*, which, with the help of your own may the better direct you in the part of your Life upon which your *Happiness* most dependeth.

It is one of the *Disadvantages* belonging to your *Sex*, that young Women are seldom permitted to make their own *Choice*; their Friends Care and Experience are thought safer Guides to them, than their own *Fancies*; and their *Modesty* often forbiddeh them to refuse when their Parents recommend, though their *inward Consent* may not entirely go along with it. In this case there remaineth nothing for them to do but to endeavour to make that easie which falleth to their *Lot*, and by a wise use of every thing they may dislike in a *Husband*, turn that by degrees to be very supportable, which, if neglected, might in time beget an *Aversion*.

You must first lay it down for a Foundation in general, That there is *Inequality* in the *Sexes*, and that for better Oeconomy of the World, the *Men*, who were to be the Law givers, had the larger share of *Reason* bestow'd upon them; by which means your *Sex* is the better prepar'd
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for the *Compliance* that is necessary for the better performance of those *Duties* which seem to be most properly assign'd to it. This looks a little uncourtly at the first appearance; but upon Examination it will be found, that *Nature* is so far from being unjust to you, that she is partial on our side. She hath made you such large *Amends* by other Advantages, for the seeming *Injustice* of the first Distribution, that the Right of Complaining is come over to our Sex. You have it in your power not only to free your selves, but to Subdue your Masters, and without violence throw both their *Natural* and *Legal Authority* at your Feet. We are made of differing *Tempers*, that our *Defects* may the better be mutually supplied: Your Sex wanteth our *Reason* for your *Conduct*, and our *Strength* for your *Protection*: Ours wanteth your *Gentleness* to soften, and to entertain us. The first part of our Life is a good deal subjected to you in the *Nursery*, where you Reign without Competition, and by that means have the advantage of giving the first *Impressions*. Afterwards you have stronger Influences, which, well manag'd, have more force in your behalf, than all our *Privileges* and *Jurisdictions* can pretend to have against you. You have more
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strength in your *Looks*, than we have in our *Laws*, and more power by your *Tears*, than we have by our *Arguments*.

It is true, that the *Laws* of *Marriage* run in a harsher stile towards your *Sex*, *Obey* is an ungenteel word, and less easie to be digested, by making such an unkind distinction in the words of the Contract, and so very unsuitable to the excess of *Good Manners*, which generally goes before it. Besides the *universality* of the Rule seemeth to be a *Grievance*, and it appeareth reasonable, that there might be an *Exemption* for extraordinary Women, from ordinary Rules, to take away the just Exception that Lieth against the false measure of *general Equality*.

It may be alledged by the *Counsel* retained by your *Sex*, that as there is in all other *Laws*, an appeal from the *Letter* to the *Equity*, in Cases that require it: It is as reasonable, that some *Court* of a larger *Jurisdiction* might be erected, where some *Wives* might resort and plead *specially*. And in such instances where Nature is so kind, as to raise them above the level of their own *Sex*, they might have *Relief*, and obtain a *Mitigation* in their own particular, of a *Sentence* which was given generally against *Woman-kind*. The causes
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of *Seperation* are now so very course, that few are *confident* enough to buy their *Liberty* at the price of having their *Modesty* so exposed. And for *disparity of Minds*, which above all other things requireth a *Remedy*, the *Laws* have made no *provision*; so little refin'd are numbers of *Men*, by whom they are compil'd. This and a great deal more might be said to give a colour to the Complaint.

But the Answer to it, in short is, That the *Institution* of *Marriage* is too sacred to admit a *Liberty* of *objecting* to it; That the supposition of yours being the weaker *Sex*, having without all doubt a good Foundation, maketh it reasonable to subject it to the *Masculine Dominion*; That no *Rule* can be so *perfect*, as not to admit some *Exceptions*; But the Law presumeth there would be so few found in this Case, who would have a sufficient Right to such a Privilege, that it is safer some *Injustice* should be *conniv'd* at in a very few Instances, than to break into an Establishment, upon which the Order of Humane Society doth so much depend.

You are therefore to make your best of what is *settled* by *Law* and *Custom*, and not vainly imagine, that it will be *changed* for your sake. But that you may not be
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discouraged, as if you lay under the weight of an *incurable Grievance*, you are to know, that by a *wise* and *dexterous* Conduct, it will be in your power to *relieve* your self from any thing that looketh like a disadvantage in it. For your better direction, I will give a hint of the most ordinary *Causes of Dissatisfaction* between Man and Wife, that you may be able by such a *Warning* to live so upon your *Guard*, that when you shall be married, you may know how to *cure* your Husband's *Mistakes*, and to *prevent* your own.

First then, you are to consider, you live in a time which hath rendred some kind of Frailties so habitual, that they lay claim to large *Grains of Allowance*. The world in this is somewhat unequal, and our Sex seemeth to play the *Tyrant* in distinguishing *partially* for our selves, by making that in the utmost degree *Criminal* in the *Woman*, which in a *Man* passeth under a much *gentler Censure*. The Root and the excuse of this Injustice is the *Preservation* of Families from any *Mixture* which may bring a Blemish to them: And whilst the *Point of Honour* continues to be so plac'd it seems unavoidable to give your *Sex*, the greater share of the penalty. But if in this it lieth under any *Disadvantage*, you are more than recompens'd

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pens'd, by having the *Honour of Families* in your keeping. The Consideration so great a Trust must give you, maketh full amends; and this Power the World hath lodged in you, can hardly fail to restrain the Severity of an *ill Husband*, and to improve the Kindness and Esteem of a *good* one. This being so, remember, That next to the danger of *committing* the fault yourself, the greatest is that of *seeing* it in your *Husband*. Do not seem to look or hear that way: If he is a Man of Sense, he will reclaim himself; the Folly of it, is of it self sufficient to cure him; if he is not so, he will be provok'd, but not reform'd. To expostulate in these Cases, looketh like declaring War, and preparing Reprisals; which to a *thinking Husband* would be a dangerous Reflection. Besides, it is so course a reason which will be assign'd for a Lady's too great warmth upon such an occasion, that Modesty no less than Prudence ought to restrain her; since such an undecent Complaint makes a Wife much more ridiculous, than the Injury that provoketh her to it. But it is yet worse, and more unskillful, to *blaze* it in the World, expecting it should rise up in Arms to take her part: Whereas she will find, it can have no other Effect, than that she will be served up in all
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Companies, as the *reigning Jest* at that time ; and will continue to be the common Entertainment, till she is rescu'd by some *newer Folly* that cometh upon the Stage, and driveth her away from it. The Impertinence of such Methods is so plain, that it doth not deserve the pains of being laid open. Be assur'd, that in these Cases your *Discretion* and *Silence* will be the most *prevailing Reproof*, An *affected Ignorance*, which is seldom a *Vertue*, is a great one here: And when your *Husband* seeth how unwilling you are to be uneasie, there is no stronger Argument to perswade him not to be unjust to you. Besides, it will naturally make him more *yielding* in other things: And whether it be to *cover* or redeem his *Offence*, you may have the good Effects of it whilst it lasteth, and all that while have the most reasonable Ground that can be, of presuming, such a behaviour will at last entirely convert him. There is nothing so glorious to a *Wife*, as a Victory so gain'd : A Man so reclaim'd, is for ever after subjected to her *Vertue* ; and her *bearing* for a time, is more than rewarded by a Triumph that will continue as long as her life.

The next thing I will suppose, is that your *Husband* may love *Wine* more than is convenient. It will be granted, That

though there are Vices of a deeper dye, there are none that have greater *Deformity* than this, when it is not restrain'd: But with all this, the same Custom which is the more to be lamented for its being so general, should make it less uneasie to every one in particular who is to suffer by the Effects of it: So that in the first place, it will be no new thing if you should have a *Drunkard* for your *Husband*; and there is by too frequent Examples evidence enough, that such a thing may happen, and yet a *Wife* may live too without being miserable. *Self love* dictateth aggravating words to every thing we feel; *Ruine* and *Misery* are the Terms we apply to whatever we do not like, forgetting the Mixture allotted to us by the Condition of Human Life, by which it is not intended we should be quite exempt from trouble. It is fair if we can escape such a degree of it as would oppress us, and enjoy so much of the pleasant part as may lessen the ill taste of such things as are unwelcome to us. Every thing hath two Sides, and for our own ease we ought to direct our Thoughts to that which may be least liable to exception. To fall upon the *worst side* of a *Drunkard*, giveth so unpleasant a prospect, that it is not possible to dwell upon it. Let us pass then to the
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more favourable part, as far as a *Wife* is concern'd in it.

I am tempted to say (if the Irregularity of the Expression could in strictness be justified) That a *Wife* is to thank God her *Husband* hath *Faults*. Mark the seeming Paradox my Dear, for your own Instruction, it being intended no further. A *Husband* without *Faults* is a dangerous observer; he hath an Eye so piercing, and seeth every thing so plain, that it is expos'd to his full Censure. And though I will not doubt but that your *Vertue* will disappoint the sharpest Enquiries; yet few Women can bear the having all they say or do represented in the clear Glass of an Understanding without *Faults*. Nothing softneth the *Arrogance* of our *Nature*, like a Mixture of some *Frailties*. It is by them we are best told, that we must not strike too hard upon others, because we our selves do so often deserve Blows: they pull our Rage by the Sleeve, and whisper Gentleness to us in our Censures, even when they are rightly applied. The *Faults* and *Passions* of *Husbands* bring them down to you, and make them content to live upon less unequal Terms, than Faultless Men would be willing to stoop to; so haughty is Mankind till humbled by com-

mon Weaknesses and Defects, which in our corrupted State contribute more towards the reconciling us one to another, than all the *Precepts* of the *Philosophers* and *Divines*. So that where the *Errors* of our *Nature* make amends for the *Disadvantages* of yours, it is more your part to make use of the *Benefit*, than to quarrel at the *Fault*.

Thus in case a *Drunken Husband* should fall to your share, if you will be *wise* and *patient*, his *Wine* shall be of your side; it will throw a *Veil* over your *Mistakes*, and will set out and improve every thing you do, that he is pleased with. Others will like him less, and by that means he may perhaps like you the more. When after having dined too well, he is receiv'd at home without a *Storm*, or so much as a *reproaching Look*, the *Wine* will naturally work out all in *Kindness*, which a *Wife* must encourage, let it be wrapped up in never so much *Impertinence*. On the other side it would boil up into *Rage*, if the mistaken *Wife* should treat him roughly, like a certain thing called a *kind Shrew*, than which the *World*, with all its *Plenty*, cannot shew a more senseless, ill-bred, forbidding *Creature*. Consider that where the *Man* will give such frequent *Intermissions* of
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of the use of his *Reason*, the *Wife* insensibly getteth a Right of *Governing* in the Vacancy, and that raiseth her *Character* and *Credit* in the Family, to a higher pitch than perhaps could be done under a *sober Husband*, who never putteth himself into an Incapacity of holding the *Reins*. If these are not intire *Consolations*, at least they are *Remedies* to some Degree. They cannot make *Drunkenness* a *Vertue*, nor a *Husband* given to it a *Felicity*; but you will do your self no ill office in the endeavouring, by these means, to make the best of such a *Lot*, in case it should happen to be yours, and by the help of a wise Observation, to make that very supportable, which would otherwise be a *Load* that would oppress you.

The next Case I will put is that your *Husband* may be *Chollerick* or *Ill-humour'd*. To this it may be said, That *passionate Men* generally make amends at the Foot of the Account. Such a Man, if he is angry one day without any *Sense*, will the next day be as kind without any *Reason*. So that by marking how the *Wheels* of such a Man's Head are used to move, you may easily bring over all his *Passion* to your Party. Instead of being struck down by his Thunder, you shall direct it where and up-

on whom you shall think it best applied. Thus are the *strongest Poisons* turn'd to the *best Remedies*; but then there must be *Art* in it, and a *skilful Hand*, else the least *bungling* maketh it mortal. There is a great deal of nice *Care* requisite to deal with a Man of this Complexion. *Choler* proceedeth from *Pride*, and maketh a Man so partial to himself that he swelleth against *Contradiction*; and thinketh he is lessened if he is opposed. You must in this Case take heed of *increasing the Storm* by an *unwary Word*, or *kindling the Fire* whilst the Wind is in a Corner which may blow it in your Face: You are dextrously to yield every thing till he beginneth to cool, and then by slow degrees you may rise and gain upon him: Your *Gentleness* well timed, will, like a Charm, dispel his Anger ill placed; a *kind Smile* will *reclaim*, when a *shrill pettish Answer* would *provoke* him; rather than fail upon such occasions, when other *Remedies* are too weak, a little *Flattery* may be admitted, which by being necessary, will cease to be Criminal.

If *Ill-Humour* and *Sullenness*, and not open and sudden Heat is his Disease, there is a way of treating that too, so as to make it a Grievance to be endured. In order to it, you are first to know, that naturally

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good Sense hath a mixture of *surly* in it: and there being so much *Folly* in the World, and for the most part so triumphant, it giveth frequent Temptations to raise the *Spleen* of Men who think right. Therefore that which may generally be call'd *Ill-Humour*, is not always a Fault; it becometh one when either it is wrong applied, or that it is continued too long, when it is not so: For this Reason you must not too hastily fix an ill name upon that which may perhaps not deserve it; and though the Case should be, that your *Husband* might too sowerly resent any thing he disliketh, it may so happen, that more Blame shall belong to your *Mistake*, than to his *Ill-Humour*. If a *Husband* behaveth himself sometimes with an *Indifference* that a *Wife* may think offensive, she is in the wrong to put the worst sence upon it; if by any Means it will admit a better. Some *Wives* will call it *Ill-Humour* if their *Husbands* change their *Style* from that which they used whilst they made their *Addresses* to them: Others will allow no *Intermission* or *Abatement* in the Expressions of Kindness to them, not enough distinguishing times, and forgetting that it is impossible for Men to keep themselves up all their Lives to the height

of some *extravagant Moments*. A Man may at some times be less careful in little things, without any cold or disobliging Reason for it; as a *Wife* may be too expecting in smaller matters, without drawing upon her-self the inference of being *unkind*. And if your *Husband* should be really sullen, and have such frequent Fits, as might take away the excuse of it, it concerneth you to have an Eye prepared to discern the first Appearances of Cloudy Weather, and to watch when the Fit goeth off, which seldom lasteth long if it is let alone. But whilst the Mind is sore, every thing galleth it, and that maketh it necessary to let the *Black Humour* begin to spend it self, before you come in and venture to undertake it,

If in the Lottery of the World you should draw a *Covetous Husband*, I confess it will not make you proud of your *good Luck*; yet even such a one may be endured too, though there are few Passions more untractable than that of *Avarice*. You must first take care that your *Definition* of *Avarice* may not be a Mistake. You are to examine every Circumstance of your *Husbands* Fortune and weigh the Reason of every thing you expect from him before you have right to pronounce

nounce that sentence. The Complaint is now so general against all *Husbands*, that it giveth great suspicion of its being often ill-grounded; it is impossible they should all deserve that Censure, and therefore it is certain, that it is many times misapplied. He that *spareth* in every thing is an *inexcusable Niggard*; he that *spareth* in nothing is as *inexcusable a Madman*. The *mean* is, to spare in what is least necessary, to lay out more liberally in what is most required in our several circumstances. Yet this will not always satisfy. There are *Wives* who are impatient of the **Rules** of Oeconomy, and are apt to call their *Husbands* Kindness in question, if any other measure is put to their expence than that of their own Fancy. Be sure to avoid this dangerous Error, such a partiality to your Self, which is so offensive to an understanding Man, that he will very ill bear a *Wife's* giving her self such an injurious preference to all the *Family*, and whatever belongeth to it.

But to admit the worst, and that your *Husband* is really a *Cloſe-handed Wretch*, you must in this, as in other Cases, endeavour to make it less afflicting to you; and first you must observe *seasonable hours* of speaking. When you offer any thing
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in opposition to this reigning Humour, a *third hand* and a *wise Friend*, may oft en prevail more than you will be allowed to do in your own Cause. Sometimes you are dexterously to go along with him in things, where you see that the niggardly part of his Mind is most predominant, by which you will have the better opportunity of perswading him in things where he may be more indifferent. Our *Passions* are very unequal, and are apt to be raised or lessened according as they work upon different Objects; they are not to be *stopped* or *restrained* in those things where our Mind is more particularly engaged. In other matters they are more tractable, and will sometimes give Reason a hearing, and admit a fair dispute. More than that, there are few Men, even in this instance of *Avarice*, so entirely abandoned to it, that at some hours, and upon some occasions, will not forget their natures, and for that time turn Prodigal. The same Man who will *grudge* himself what is *necessary*, let his *Pride* be raised and he shall be *profuse*; at another time his *Anger* shall have the same effect; a fit of *Vanity*, *Ambition*, and sometimes of *Kindness*, shall open and inlarge his *narrow Mind*; a Dose of Wine will work upon this tough humour, and for the time dissolve it. Your
business

business must be, if this Case happeneth, to watch these *critical Moments*, and not let one of them slip without making your advantage of it ; and a *Wife* may be said to want *skill* if by this means she is not able to secure her self in a good measure against the Inconveniences this scurvy quality in a *Husband* might bring upon her, except he should be such an incurable *Monster*, as I hope will never fall to your share.

The last supposition I will make, is, That your *Husband* should be *weak* and *incompetent* to make use of the Privileges that belong to him. It will be yeilded, that such a one leaveth room for a great many Objections. But God Almighty seldom sendeth a *Grievance* without a *Remedy*, or at least such a Mitigation as taketh away a great part of the sting, and the smart of it. To make such a *Misfortune* less heavy, you are first to bring to your Observation, That a *Wife* very often maketh better Figure, for her *Husband's* making no great one : And there seemeth to be little reason, why the same *Lady* that chuseth a *Waiting-Woman* with worse Looks, may not be content with a *Husband* with less Wit ; the Argument being equal from the advantage of the Comparison. If you will
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be more ashamed in some Cases, of such a *Husband*, you will be less afraid than you would perhaps be of a wise one. His *Unseasonable Weakness* may no doubt sometimes grieve you, but then set against this, that it giveth you the *Dominion*, if you will make the right use of it. It is next to his being dead, in which Case the *Wife* hath right to Administer; therefore be sure, if you have such an Idiot, that none, except your self, may have the benefit of the forfeiture; Such a Fool is a dangerous Beast, if others have the keeping of him; and you must be very undexterous if when your *Husband* shall resolve to be an *Ass*, you do not take care he may be *your Ass*. But you must go skillfully about it; and above all things, take heed of distinguishing in publick, what kind of *Husband* he is: Your inward thoughts must not hinder the outward payment of the consideration that is due to him: Your *slighting* him in *Company*, besides that it would, to a discerning By-stander, give too great encouragement for the making nearer applications to you, is in itself such an undecent way of assuming, that it may provoke the tame Creature to break loose, and to shew his *Dominion* for his Credit, which he was content to forget for his Ease.

Ease. In short, the surest and the most approved method will be to do like a wise *Minister* to an easie *Prince* ; first give him the Orders you afterwards receive from him.

With all this, that which you are to pray for, is a *Wise Husband*, one that by knowing how to be a *Master*, for that very reason will not let you feel the weight of it ; one whose Authority is so soften'd by his Kindness, that it giveth you ease without abridging your *Liberty* ; one that will return so much tenderness for your *Just Esteem* of him, that you will never want *power*, though you will seldom care to use it. Such a *Husband* is as much above all the other Kinds of them, as a *rational subjection* to a Prince, great in himself, is to be preferr'd before the disquiet and uneasiness of *Unlimited Liberty*,

Before I leave this Head, I must add a little concerning your *Behaviour* to your *Husband's Friends*, which requireth the most refined part of your Understanding to acquit your self well of it. You are to study how to live with them with more care than you are to apply to any other part of your Life ; especially at first, that you may not stumble at the first setting out. The *Family* into which you are grafted
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will generally be apt to expect, that like a Stranger in a Foreign Country, you should conform to their Methods, and not bring in a new Model by your own Authority. The *Friends* in such a Case are tempted to rise up in Arms as against an unlawful Invasion, so that you are with the utmost Caution to avoid the least appearances of any thing of this Kind. And that you may with less difficulty afterwards give your Directions, be sure at first to receive them from your *Husband's* Friends. Gain them to you by early applying to them, and they will be so satisfied, that as nothing is more thankful than Pride, when it is complied with, they will strive which of them shall most recommend you; and when they have helped you to take Root in your *Husband's* good Opinion, you will have less dependence upon theirs, though you must not neglect any reasonable means of preserving it. You are to consider, that a Man govern'd by his *Friends*, is very easily inflamed by them; and that one who is not so, will yet for his own sake expect to have them consider'd. It is easily improved to a point of Honour in a *Husband*, not to have his *Relations* neglected; and nothing is more dangerous, than to raise an Objection, which is grounded upon

on *Pride* : It is the most stubborn and lasting Passion we are subject to, and where it is the first cause of the *War*, it is very hard to make a secure *Peace*. Your *Caution* in this is of the last importance to you.

And that you may the better succeed in it, carry a strict Eye upon the *Impertinence* of your *Servants* ; take heed that their *Ill-humour* may not engage you to take Exceptions, or their too much assuming in small matters, raise Consequences which may bring you under great Disadvantage. Remember that in the case of a *Royal Bride*, those about her are generally so far suspected to bring in a Foreign Interest, that in most Countries they are insensibly reduced to a very small number, and those of so low a Figure, that it does not admit the being *Jealous* of them. In little and in the Proportion, this may be the Case of every *New married Woman*, and therefore it may be more adviseable for you, to gain the *Servants* you find in a Family, than to tie yourself too fast to those you carry into it.

You are not to overlook these small Reflections, because they may appear low and inconsiderable ; for it may be said, that as the *greatest streams* are made up of the *small drops* at the head of the Springs from whence they are derived, so the *greater*

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circumstances of your Life, will be in some degree directed by these seeming *trifles*, which having the advantage of being the first acts of it, have a greater effect than singly in their own nature they could pretend to

I will conclude this Article with my Advice, That you would as much as Nature will give you leave, endeavour to forget the great *Indulgence* you have found at home. After such a gentle Discipline as you have been under, every thing you dislike will seem the harsher to you. The tenderness we have had for you, *My Dear*, is of another nature peculiar to kind Parents, and differing from that which you will meet with first in any Family into which you shall be transplanted; and yet they may be very kind too, and afford no justifiable reason to you to complain. You must not be frightened with the first Appearances of a *differing Scene*; for when you are used to it, you may like the House you go to, better than that you left; and your *Husbands* Kindness will have so much advantage of ours, that we shall yeild up all *Competition*, and as well as we love you, be very well contented to Surrender to such a *Rival*.

HOUSE,

HOUSE, FAMILY, and
CHILDREN.

YOU must lay before you, *my Dear*, that there are degrees of Care to recommend your self to the World in the several parts of your Life. In many things, though the doing them well may raise your *Credit* and *Esteem*, yet the omission of them would draw no immediate reproach upon you: In others, where your duty is more particularly applied, the *neglect* of them is amongst those Faults which are not forgiven, and will bring you under a *Censure*, which will be much a heavier thing than the trouble you would avoid. Of this kind is the *Government* of your *House*, *Family*, and *Children*, which since it is the Province allotted to your Sex, and that the *discharging it well*, will for that reason be expected from you, if you either desert it out of *Laziness*, or manage it ill for *want of skill*, instead of a *Help* you will be an *Incumbrance* to the *Family* where you are placed.

I must tell you, that no *respect* is lasting, but that which is produced by our being in some degree useful to those that pay it. Where that faileth the Homage and the

Reverence go along with it, and fly to others where something may be expected in exchange for them. And upon this principle the *respects* even of the *Children* and the *Servants* will not stay with one that doth not think them worth their Care, and the old *House-keeper* shall make a better Figure in the Family, than the *Lady* with all her fine Cloaths, if she wilfully relinquishes her Title to the *Government*. Therefore take heed of carrying your good *Breeding* to such a height, as to be good for nothing, and to be proud of it. Some think it hath a great Air to be above troubling their thoughts with such ordinary things as their *House* and *Family*; others dare not admit *Cares* for fear they should hasten *Wrinkles*; mistaken *Pride* maketh some think they must keep themselves up, and descend not to these Duties, which do not seem enough refined for great *Ladies* to be imploy'd in; forgetting all this while, that it is more than the greatest *Princes* can do, at once to preserve respect, and to neglect their Business. No *Age* ever erected *Altars* to insignificant *Gods*; they had all some quality applied to them to draw *worship* from *Mankind*; this maketh it the more unreasonable for a *Lady* to expect to be consider'd, and at the same time
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resolve not to deserve it. *Good looks* alone will not do; they are not such a lasting *Tenure*, as to be relied upon; and if they should stay longer than they usually do, it will by no means be safe to depend upon them: For when time hath abated the violence of the first liking, and that the *Napp* is a little worn off, though still a good degree of kindness may remain, Men recover their sight which before might be dazled and allow themselves to object as well as to admire.

In such a Case, when a *Husband* seeth an empty airy thing sail up and down the Houle to no kind of purpose, and look as if she came thither only to make a Visit, When he findeth that after her *Emptiness* hath been extreme busie about some very senseless thing, she eats her Breakfast half an hour before Dinner, to be at greater liberty to afflict the Company with her Discourse; then calleth for her Coach, that she may trouble her Acquaintance, who are already cloy'd with her: And having some *proper Dialogues* ready to display her *Foolish Eloquence* at the top of the Stairs, she setteth out like a Ship out of the Harbour, laden with trifles and cometh back with them: at her return she repeateth to her faithful Waiting-Woman,

man, the *Triumphs* of that day's *Impertinence*; then wrap'd up in Flattery and clean Linen, goeth to Bed so satisfied, that it throweth her into pleasant Dreams of her own Felicity, Such a one is seldom serious but with her *Taylor*; her *Children* and Family may now and then have a random thought, but she never taketh aim but at something very impertinent. I say, when a *Husband*, whose Province is without Doors, and to whom the Oeconomy of the House would be in some degree Indecent, findeth no *Order* nor *Quiet* in his *Family*, meeteth with *Complaints* of all kinds springing from this Root; The *Mistaken Lady*, who thinketh to make *amends* for all this, by having a well-chosen *Petty-Coat*, will at last be convinced of her *Error*, and with grief be forced to undergo the Penalties that belong to those who are willfully *Insignificant*. When this scurvy hour cometh upon her, she first groweth *Angry*; then when the time of it is past, would perhaps grow *wiser*, not remembring that we can no more have *Wisdom* than *Grace*, whenever we think fit to call for it. There are Times and Periods fix'd for both; and when they are too long neglected, the Punishment is, that they are

are *Irrecoverable*, and nothing remaineth but an useless *Grief* for the Folly of having thrown them out of our Power. You are to think what a mean Figure a Woman maketh, when she is so degraded by her own Fault; whereas there is nothing in those Duties which are expected from you, that can be a lessening to you, except your want of *Conduct* makes it so. You may love your *Children* without living in the *Nursery*, and you may have a *competent* and *discreet* care of them, without letting it break out upon the Company, or exposing your self by turning your Discourse that way, which is a kind of *Laying Children* to the *Parish*, and it can hardly be done any where; that those who bear it will be so forgiving, as not to think they are overcharged with them. A Woman's *tenderness* to her *Children* is one of the least deceitful Evidences of the Vertue; but yet the way of expressing it, must be subject to the Rules of *good Breeding*: and though a *Woman* of *Quality* ought not to be less kind to them, than *Mothers* of the *Meanest Rank* are to theirs, yet she may distinguish her self in the *manner*, and avoid the coarse Methods, which in Women of a lower size might be more excusable. You must be-

gin early to make them *love* you, that they may *obey* you. This Mixture is no where more necessary than in Children. And I must tell you, that you are not to expect Returns of Kindness from yours, if ever you have any, without Grains of Allowance; and yet it is not so much a *defect* in their *good Nature*, as a *shortness of Thought* in them. Their first *Insufficiency* maketh them lean so entirely upon their *Parents* for what is *necessary*, that the habit of it maketh them continue the same *Expectations* for what is *unreasonable*; and as often as they are *denied*, so often they think they are *injured*: And whilst their *Desires* are strong, and their *Reasons* yet in the Cradle, their *Anger* looketh no farther than the thing they long for and cannot have; And to be *displeased* for their *own good*, is a *Maxim* they are very slow to understand: So that you may conclude, the first Thoughts of your *Children* will have no small Mixture of *Mutiny*; which being so natural, you must not be angry, except you would increase it. You must deny them as seldom as you can, and when there is no avoiding it, you must do it *gently*; you must flatter away their ill Humour, and take the next Opportunity of pleasing them

them in some other thing, before they either ask or look for it: This will strengthen your *Authority*, by making it soft to them; and confirm their *Obedience*, by making it their Interest. You are to have as strict a Guard upon your self amongst your *Children*, as if you were amongst your *Enemies*. They are apt to make wrong Inferences, to take Encouragement from half Words, and misapply what you may say or do, so as either to lessen their *Duty*, or to extend their *Liberty* farther than is convenient. Let them be more in awe of your *Kindness*, than of your *Power*. And above all, take heed of supporting a *Favorite Child* in its Impertinence, which will give Right to the rest of claiming the same Privilege. If you have a divided Number, leave the *Boys* to the *Father's* more peculiar Care, that you may with greater Justice pretend to a more immediate Jurisdiction over those of your own *Sex*. You are to live so with them, that they may never chuse to avoid you, except when they have *offended*; and then let them tremble, that they may distinguish: But their Penance must not continue so long as to grow too *sower* upon their *Stomachs*, that it may not *harden* instead of *correcting* them: The
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kind and severe Part must have their several *turns* seasonably applied ; but your *Indulgence* is to have the broader mixture, that *Love* rather than *Fear*, may be the Root of their *Obedience*.

Your *Servants* are in the next place to be considered : and you must remember not to fall in the mistake of thinking, that because they receive Wages, and are so much *Inferiour* to you, therefore they are *below* your Care to know how to manage them. It would be as good Reason for a *Master Workman* to despise the *Wheels* of his *Engines*, because they are made of *Wood*. These are the *Wheels* of your *Family* ; and let your Directions be never so faultless, yet if these *Engines* stop or move wrong, the whole Order of your *House* is either at a stand, or discomposed. Besides; the *Inequality* which is between you, must not make you forget, that *Nature* maketh no such distinction, but that *Servants* may be looked upon as *humble Friends*, and that *Returns* of *Kindness* and good *Usage* are as much due to such of them as deserve it, as their *Service* is due to *us* when we require it. A foolish haughtiness in the Style of *speaking* , or in the manner of *commanding* them, is in its self very undecent :
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besides that it begetteth an *Aversion* in them, of which the least ill Effect to be expected, is, that they will be *slow* and *careless* in all that is enjoyned them: And you will find it true by your Experience, that you will be so much the more *obeyed* as you are less *Imperious*. Be not too *hasty* in giving your *Orders*, nor too *angry* when they are not altogether *Observed*; much less are you to be loud, and too much disturbed: An *evenness* in distinguishing when they do well or *ill*, is that which will make your *Family* move by a Rule, and without Noise, and will the better set out your Skill in conducting it with Ease and Silence, that it may be like a well disciplin'd Army; which knoweth how to anticipate the *Orders* that are fit to be given them. You are never to neglect the Duty of the *present Hour* to do another thing, which though it may be better in it self, is not to be unseasonably preferred. Allot well chosen Hours for the Inspection of your *Family*, which may be so distinguished from the rest of your Time, that the *necessary Cares* may come in their proper Place, without any Influence upon your good Humour, or Interruption to other things. By these Methods you will put your self
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in possession of being valued by your Servants, and then their *Obedience* will naturally follow.

I must not forget one of the greatest *Articles* belonging to a *Family*, which is the *Expence*. It must not be such, as by failing either in the Time or measure of it, may rather draw *Censure* than gain *Applause*. If it was well examined, there is more Money given to be laughed at, than for any one thing in the World, though the Purchasers do not think so. A well stated Rule is like the *Line*, when that is once pass'd we are under another *Pole*; so the first *straying* from a *Rule*, is a step towards making that which was before a *Vertue*, to change its Nature, and to grow either into a *Vice*, or at least an *Impertinence*. The Art of laying out Money wisely, is not attained to without a great deal of thought; and it is yet more difficult in the Case of a *Wife*, who is accountable to her *Husband* for her mistakes in it. It is not only his *Money*, his *Credit* too is at Stake, if what lyeth under the *Wife's* Care is managed, either with undecent *Thrift*, or too loose *Profusion*. You are therefore to keep the *Mean* between these two *Extremes*, and it being hardly possible to hold the Balance

lance exactly even, let it rather incline towards the *Liberal* side as more suitable to your *Quality*, and less subject to *Reproach*. Of the two a little *Money* mispent is sooner recovered, than the *Credit* which is lost by having it unhandsomely saved; and a Wise *Husband* will less forgive a shameful piece of *Parsimony*, than a little *Extravagance*, if it be not too often repeated. His *Mind* in this must be your chief *Direction*; and his *Temper*, when once known, will in great measure justify your part in the management, if he is pleased with it

In your *Clothes* avoid too much Gaudy; do not value your self upon an *Embroidered Gown*; and remember that a reasonable *Word*, or an *obliging Look*, will gain you more respect, than all your *fine Trappings*. This is not said to restrain you from a *decent Compliance* with the World, provided you take the wiser, and not the foolisher part of your Sex for your Pattern. Some *distinctions* are to be allowed, whilst they are well suited to your *Quality* and *Fortune*, and in the distribution of the Expence, it seemeth to me that a *full Attendance*, and *well chosen Ornaments* for your House, will make you a better Figure, than too much glittering in
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what you wear, which may with more ease be imitated by those that are below you. Yet this must not tempt you to starve every thing but your own Apartment; or in order to more abundance there, give just cause to the least Servant you have, to complain of the Want of what is necessary. Above all, fix it in your thoughts, as an unchangeable *Maxim*, That nothing is *truly fine* but what is *fit*, and that just so much as is proper for your *Circumstances* of their several kinds, is much finer than all you can add to it. When you once break through these bounds, you launch into a wide Sea of *Extravagance*. Every thing will become necessary, because you have a mind to it; and you have a mind to it, not because it is *fit* for you, but because some body else *hath it*. This *Lady's Logick* setteth Reason upon its Head, by carrying the *Rule* from things to *Persons*, and appealing from what is *right* to every Fool that is in the *wrong*. The word *necessary* is miserably applyed, it disordereth *Families*, and overturneth *Governments* by being so abused. Remember that *Children* and *Fools* want every thing because they want Wit to distinguish: and therefore there is no stronger Evidence of a *Crazy Understanding*,
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than the making too large a Catalogue of things necessary, when in truth there are so very few things that have a right to be placed in it. Try every thing first in your *Judgment*, before you allow it a place in your *Desire*; else your *Husband* may think it as necessary for him to deny, as it is for you to *have* whatever is unreasonable; and if you shall too often give him that advantage, the habit of *refusing* may perhaps reach to things that are not unfit for you.

There are unthinking *Ladies*, who do not enough consider how little their own Figure agreeth with the *fine things* they are so proud of. Others when they have them will hardly allow them to be *visible*; they cannot be seen without *Light*, and that is many times so sawcy and so prying, that like a too forward *Gallant* it is to be forbid the *Chamber*. Some, when you are ushered into their *Dark Ruelle*, it is with such solemnity, that a Man would swear there was something in it, till the *Unskillful Lady* breaketh silence, and beginneth a Chat, which discovereth it is a Puppet play with Magnificent Scenes. Many esteem things rather as they are hard to be gotten, than that they are worth getting: This looketh as if they
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had an Interest to pursue that Maxim, because a great part of their own *value* dependeth upon it. Truth in these Cases would be often *unmannerly*, and might derogate from the *Prerogative*, great *Ladies* would assume to themselves, of being distinct Creatures from those of their Sex, which are inferiour, and of less difficult access.

In other things too, your Condition must give the rule to you, and therefore it is not a Wife's part to aim at more than a bounded *Liberality*; the farther extent of that *Quality* (otherwise to be commended) belongeth to the *Husband*, who hath better means for it. *Generosity* wrong placed becometh a *Vice*. It is no more a *Vertue* when it groweth into an *Inconvenience*, *Vertues* must be enlarged or restrained according to differing Circumstances. A *Princely Mind* will undo a *private Family*: Therefore things must be suited, or else they will not deserve to be Commended, let them in themselves be never so valuable: And the Expectations of the World are best answered when we acquit our selves in that manner which seemeth to be prescribed to our several Conditions, without usurping upon those Duties, which do not so particularly belong to us,

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I will close the consideration of this *Article of Expence*, with this short word; Do not *fetter* your self with such a *Restraint* in it as may make you *Remarkable*; but remember that *Vertue* is the greatest *Ornament*, and good *Sence* the best *Equipage*.

BEHAVIOUR and CON-
VERSATION.

IT is time now to lead you out of your *House* into the *World*. A Dangerous step; where your *Vertue* alone will not secure you, except it is attended with a great deal of *Prudence*. You must have *both* for your *Guard*, and not stir without them. The *Enemy* is abroad, and you are sure to be taken, if you are found stragling. Your *Behaviour* is therefore to incline strongly towards the *Reserved* part; your *Character* is to be immoveably fixed upon that Bottom, not excluding a mixture of greater freedom, as far as it may be innocent and well-timed. The *Extravagancies* of the Age have made *Caution* more necessary; and by the same

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reason that the too great Licence of ill Men hath by Consequence in many things restrained the Lawful Liberty of those who did not abuse it, the unjustifiable Freedoms of some of your Sex have involved the rest in the Penalty of being reduced. And though this cannot so alter the Nature of things, as to make that *Criminal*, which in its self is *Indifferent*; yet if it maketh it *dangerous*, that alone is sufficient to justify the *Restraint*. A close behaviour is the fittest to receive *Vertue* for its constant *Guest*, because there, and there only, it can be secure. Proper *Reserves* are the Outworks, and must never be deserted by those who intend to keep the Place; they keep off the possibilities not only of being *taken*, but of being *attempted*; and if a Woman seeth Danger tho' at never so remote a Distance, she is for that time to shorten her *Line of Liberty*. She who will allow her self to go to the *utmost Extent* of every thing that is *Lawful*, is so very near going farther, that those who lie at watch will begin to count upon her.

Mankind, from the double temptation of *Vanity* and *Desire*, is apt to turn every thing a *Woman* doth to the *hopeful side*; and there are few who dare make an impudent

prudent Application, till they discern something which they are willing to take for an *Encouragement*. It is safer therefore to prevent such *Forwardness*, than to go about to *cure* it. It gathereth Strength by the first *allowances*, and claimeth a right from having been at any time suffered with Impunity. Therefore nothing is with more care to be avoided, than such a kind of *Civility* as may be mistaken for *Invitation*; and it will not be enough for you to keep your self free from any criminal *Engagements*; for if you do that which either raises *Hopes* or createth *Discourse*, there is a Spot thrown upon your Good Name; and those kinds of Stains are the harder to be taken out being dropped upon you by the *Man's Vanity*, as well as by the *Woman's Malice*.

Most Men are in one sence *Platonick Lovers*, though they are not willing to own that *Character*. They are so far *Philosophers*, as to allow that the greatest part of Pleasure lieth in the *Mind*; and in pursuance of that *Maxim*, there are few who do not place the Felicity more in the Opinion of the World, of their being *prosperous Lovers*, than in the *Blessing* it self, how much soever they appear to value it. This being so, you must be very cautious not to

gratifie these *Camaleons* at the price of bringing a *Cloud* upon your *Reputation*, which may be deeply wounded, tho' your *Conscience* is unconcerned.

Your own Sex too will not fail to help the least Appearance that giveth a *Handle* to be ill-turned. The best of them will not be displeased to improve their own Value, by laying others under a *Disadvantage*, when there is a fair Occasion given for it. It distinguisheth them still the more their own *Credit* is more exalted, and, like a Picture set off with Shades, shineth more when a *Lady*, either less *Innocent*, or less *Discreet* is set near, to make them appear so much the brighter. If these lend their Breath to blast such as are so unwary as to give them this Advantage, you may be sure there will be a stronger Gale from those, who, besides *Malice* or *Emulation*, have an *Interest* too, to strike hard upon a Vertuous Woman. It seemeth to them, that their Load of Infamy is lessened, by throwing part of it upon others: So that they will not only improve when it lieth in their way, but take pains to find out the least mistake an *Innocent Woman* committeth, in Revenge of the Injury she doth in leading a Life which is a Reproach to them. With these you must be extreme wary, and neither

ther provoke them to be *angry*, nor invite them to be *Intimate*.

To the *Men* you are to have a *Behaviour* which may secure you, without offending them. No ill-bred affected *Skyness*, nor a *Roughness*, unsuitable to your *Sex*, and unnecessary to your *Vertue*; but a way of Living that may prevent all course *Railles* or *unmannerly Freedoms*; *Looks* that forbid without *Rudeness*, and oblige without *Invitation*, or leaving room for the sawcy Inferences Men's Vaniry suggesteth to them upon the least Encouragements. This is so very nice, that it must engage you to have a perpetual *Watch* upon your *Eyes*, and to remember, that one careless *Glance* giveth more advantage than a *hundred Words*, not enough considered; the *Language* of the *Eyes* being very much the most *significant*, and the most *observed*.

Your *Civility*, which is always to be preserved, must not be carried to a *Compliance*, which may betray you into irrecoverable Mistakes. This *French* ambiguous word *Complaisance* hath led your *Sex* into more blame, than all other things put together. It carrieth them by degrees into a certain thing called a good kind of *Woman*, an easie *Idle Creature*, that doth neither *Good* nor *Ill* but by *chance*, hath no *Choice*, but

leaveth that to the Company she keepeth. *Time*, which by degrees addeth to the signification of *Words*, hath made her, according to the Modern Style, little better than one who thinketh it a *Rudeness* to deny when civilly required, either her *Service in Person*, or her *friendly Assistance*, to those who would have a *meeting*, or want a *Confident*. She is a certain thing always at hand, an easie *Companion*, who hath ever great *Compassion* for *distressed Lovers*: She censureth nothing but *Rigor*, and is never without a *Plaister* for a *wounded Reputation*, in which chiefly lieth her Skill in *Chirurgery*; She seldom hath the Propriety of any *particular Gallant*, but liveth upon *Brokage*, and waiteth for the Scraps her Friends are content to leave her.

There is another *Character* not quite so *Criminal*, yet not less *Ridiculous*; which is that of a *good-humour'd Woman*, one who thinketh she must always be in a *Laugh*, or a broad *Smile*, because *Good-humour* is an obliging Quality; thinketh it less ill-manners to talk *Impertinently*, than to be silent in Company. When such a prating *Engine* rideth *Admiral*, and carrieth the *Lantern* in a *Circle of Fools*, a cheerful *Coxcomb* coming in for a *Recruit*, the *Chattering of Monkeys* is a better noise than such a

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Concert of senseless Merriment. If she is applauded in it, she is so encouraged, that, like a *Ballad singer*, who if commended, breaketh his Lungs, she letteth her self loose, and overfloweth upon the Company. She conceiveth that Mirth is to have no intermission, and therefore she will carry it about with her, though it be to a *Funeral*; and if a Man should put a familiar Question, she doth not know very well how to be angry, for then she would be no more that pretty thing called a *Good humour'd Woman*. This necessity of appearing at all times to be so infinitely pleased is a grievous mistake; since in a *handsom Woman* that *Invitation* is unnecessary; and in one who is not so, *ridiculous*. It is not intended by this, that you should forswear *Laughing*; but remember, that Fools being always painted in that posture, it may fright those who are wise from doing it too frequently, and going too near a Copy which is so little inviting, and much more from doing it *loud*, which is an unnatural Sound, and looketh so much like another Sex, that few things are more offensive. That *boillorous* kind of *Jollity* is as contrary to *Wit* and *Good Manners*, as it is to *Modesty* and *Vertue*. Besides, it is a course kind of quality, that throweth a

Woman into a lower Form, and degradeth her from the Rank of those who are more refined. Some *Ladies* speak *loud* and make a *noise* to be the more minded, which looketh as if they beat their *Drums* for *Volunteers*, and if by misfortune none come in to them, they may, not without reason, be a good deal out of Countenance.

There is one thing yet more to be avoided, which is the *Example* of those who intend nothing farther than the Vain-ty of *Conquest*, and think themselves secure of not having their Honour tainted by it. Some are apt to believe their *Vertue* is too *Obscure*, and not enough known, except it is exposed to a *broad* *Light*, and set out to its best advantage, by some publick Trials. These are dangerous experiments, and generally fail, being built upon so weak a foundation, as that of a too great *Confidence* in our selves. It is as safe to play with *Fire*, as to dally with *Gal- lantry*. *Love* is a Passion that hath Friends in the Garrison, and for that reason must by a Woman be kept at such a distance, that she may not be within the danger of doing the most usual thing in the World, which is conspiring against her Self; Else the humble Gallant, who is only admitted as a Trophy, very often be- cometh

cometh the Conquerour; he putteth on the style of victory, and from an *Admirer* groweth into a *Master*, for so he may be called from the moment he is in Possession. The first Resolutions of stopping at good Opinion and Esteem, grow weaker by degrees against the Charms of *Courtship* skilfully applied. A Lady is apt to think a Man speaketh so much reason whilst he is *Commending* her, that she hath much ado to believe him in the wrong when he is making Love to her: And when besides the natural Inducements your Sex hath to be merciful, she is bribed by well chosen *Flattery*, the poor Creature is in danger of being caught like a Bird listening to the Whistle of one that hath a Snare for it. *Conquest* is so tempting a thing, that it often maketh Women mistake Men's *Submissions*; which with all their fair Appearance, have generally less *Respect* than *Art* in them. You are to remember, that Men who say extreme fine things, many times say them most for their own sakes; and that the vain Gallant is often as well pleased with his own *Compliments*, as he could be with the kindest answer. Where there is not that *Ostentation* you are to suspect there is *Design*. And as strong *perfumes* are seldom used
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but where they are necessary to smother an unwelcome *scent*; so *Excessive good Words* leave room to believe they are strewed to cover something, which is to gain admittance under a *Disguise*. You must therefore be upon your Guard, and consider, that of the two *Respect* is more dangerous than *Anger*. It puts even the best Understandings out of their place for the time, till their second thoughts restore them; it stealeth upon us insensibly, throweth down our *Defences*, and maketh it too late to resist, after we have given it that advantage. Whereas railing goeth away in sound; it hath so much noise in it, that by giving warning it bespeaketh Caution. *Respect* is a slow and a sure *Poison*, and like *Poison* swelleth us within our selves: Where it prevaileth too much, it groweth to be a kind of *Apoplexie* in the Mind, turneth it quite round, and after it hath once seized the Understanding, becometh *mortal* to it. For these reasons, the safest way is to treat it like a sly Enemy, and to be perpetually upon the watch against it.

I will add one *Advice* to conclude this head, which is that you will let every seven years make some alteration in you towards the *Graver* side, and not be like the *Girls* of Fifty, who resolve to be always *Young*,
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whatever *Time* with his Iron Teeth hath determined to the contrary. Unnatural things carry a *Deformity* in them never to be *Disguised*; the *Liveliness* of *Youth* in a riper Age, looketh like a *new patch* upon an *old Gown*; so that a *Gay Matron*, a cheerful *old Fool* may be reasonably put into the List of the *Tamer* kind of *Monsters*. There is a certain Creature call'd a *Grave Hobby-Horse*, a kind of a *she Numps*, that pretendeth to be pulled to a Play, and must needs go to *Bartholomew-Fair*, to look after the young folks, whom she only seemeth to make her care, in reality she taketh them for her excuse. Such an old *Butterfly* is of all *Creatures*, the most ridiculous, and the soonest found out. It is good to be early in your Caution, to avoid any thing that cometh within distance of such despicable Patterns, and not like some *Ladies* who defer their *Conversion*, till they have been so long in possession of being laughed at, that the World doth not know how to change their style, even when they are reclaimed from that which gave the first occasion for it.

The advantages of being *reserved* are too many to be set down, I will only say, that it is a *Guard* to a good *Woman*, and a *Disguise* to an *ill one*. It is of so much use

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to both, that those ought to use it as an *Artifice*, who refuse to practice it as a *Virtue*.

FRIENDSHIPS.

I Must in a particular manner recommend to you a strict Care in the Choice of your *Friendships*. Perhaps the best are not without their *Objections*, but however, be sure that yours may not stray from the Rules which the wiser part of the World hath set to them. The Leagues *Offensive* and *Defensive*, seldom hold in *Politicks*, and much less in *Friendships*. The violent *Intimacies*, when one is broken, of which they scarce ever fail, make such a *Noise*, the Bag of Secrets untied, they fly about like Birds let loose from a Cage, and become the *Entertainment* of the Town. Besides, these great *Dearnesses* by degrees grow *Injurious* to the rest of your *Acquaintance*, and throw them off from you. There is such an *Offensive* Distinction when the *Dear Friend* cometh into the Room, that it is *slinging Stones* at the *Company*, who are not apt to forgive it.

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Do not lay out your *Friendship* too *lavishly* at first, since it will, like other things, be so much the sooner spent; neither let it be of too sudden a *growth*; for as the Plants which shoot up too fast are not of that *continuance*, as those which take more time for it; so too swift a Progress in pouring out your *Kindness*, is a certain Sign that by the Course of Nature it will not be *long-lived*. You will be responsible to the World, if you pitch upon such *Friends* as at the time are under the weight of any *Criminal Objection*. In that case you will bring your self under the disadvantages of their *Character*, and must bear your part of it. *Choosing* implieth *Approving*; and if you fix upon a *Lady* for your *Friend* against whom the World shall have given Judgment, 'tis not so well natur'd as to believe you are altogether *averse* to her way of *living*, since it doth not discourage you from Admitting her into your *Kindness*. And *Resemblance* of *Inclinations* being thought none of the least Inducements to *Friendship*, you will be looked upon at least as a Well-wisher, if not a *Partner* with her in her Faults. If you can forgive them in another, it may be presum'd, you will not be less gentle to your self; and therefore you must not
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take it ill, if you are reckoned a *Croupiere*, and condemned to pay an equal share with such a Friend of the *Reputation* she hath lost.

If it happeneth that your *Friend* should fall from the State of *Innocence* after your Kindness was engaged to her, you may be slow in your belief in the beginning of the Discovery; but as soon as you are convinced by a *Rational Evidence*, you must, without breaking too *roughly*, make a far and a quick *Retreat* from such a *Mistaken Acquaintance*: Else by moving too *slowly* from one that is so tainted, the Contagion may reach you so far as to give you part of the *Scandal*, though not of the *Guilt*. This Matter is so nice, that as you must not be too hasty to *joyn* in the *Censure* upon your *Friend* when she is *accused*, so you are not on the other side to *defend* her with too much warmth; for if she should happen to deserve the Report of *Common Fame*, besides the Vexation that belongeth to such a mistake, you will draw an *ill appearance* upon your self and it will be thought you pleaded for her not without some *Consideration* of your self. The *Anger* which must be put on to vindicate the *Reputation* of an *injured Friend*, may incline the Company to suspect you would not be
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so *zealous*, if there was not a possibility that the Case might be your own. For this reason you are not to carry your *dear-ness* so far, as absolutely to lose your Sight where your Friend is concerned. Because *Malice* is too quick sighted, it doth not follow, that *Friendship* must be *blind*: There is to be a *Mean* between these two *Extremes*, else your Excess of Good Nature may betray you into a very *ridiculous Figure*, and by degrees you may be preferr'd to such Offices as you will not be proud of. Your *Ignorance* may lessen the *Guilt*, but will improve the *Jest* upon you, who shall be kindly solicitous to procure a Meeting, and innocently contribute to the *ills* you would avoid: Whilst the *Contriving Lovers*, when they are alone, shall make you the Subject of their *Mirth*, and perhaps (with respect to the Goddess of *Love* be it spoken) it is not the worst part of their *Entertainment*, at least it is the most lasting, to laugh at the *believing Friend*, who was so easily deluded.

Let the good Sence of your *Friends* be a chief Ingredient in your *Choice* of them; else let your *Reputation* be never so clear, it may be clouded by their *Impertinence*. It is like our Houses being in the Power of a Drunken or a Careless Neighbour; on,
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ly so much worse, as that there will be no *Insurance* here to make you amends, as there is in the Case of Fire.

To conclude this Paragraph ; If *Formality* is to be allowed in any Instance, it is to be put on to resist the Invasion of such forward Women as shall press themselves into your *Friendship*, where if admitted, they will either be a *Snare* or an *Incumbrance*.

CENSURE.

I Will come next to the Consideration, how you are to manage your *Censure* ; in which both Care and Skill will be a good deal required. To distinguish is not only *natural* but *necessary* ; and the Effect of it is, That we cannot avoid giving Judgment in our Minds, either to *absolve* or to *condemn* as the Case requireth. The *Difficulty* is, to know when and where it is fit to *proclaim* the *Sentence*. An *Aversion* to what is *Criminal*, a *Contempt* of what is *ridiculous*, are the *inseparable Companions* of Understanding and Vertue ; but the letting them go farther than our own *Thoughts*, hath so much danger in it, that though it is

is neither possible nor fit to *suppress* them intirely, yet it is necessary they should be kept under very great *Restraints*. An *unlimited Liberty* of this kind is little less than sending an *Herald*, and proclaiming War to the World, which is an *angry Beast* when so provoked. The contest will be *unequal*, though you are never so much in the right; and if you begin against such an Adversary, it will tear you in pieces, with this Justification, That it is done in its own defence. You must therefore take heed of *Laughing*, except in Company that is very sure. It is throwing Snow-balls against Bullets; and it is the *disadvantage* of a Woman, that the Malice of the World will help the Brutality of those who will throw a *slovenly Untruth* upon her. You are for this reason to suppress your *Impatience* for Fools; who besides that they are too strong a Party to be unnecessarily provoked, are of all others, the most dangerous in this Case. A *Blockhead* in his *Rage* will return a *dull Jest* that will lie heavy, though there is not a *Grain* of *Wit* in it. Others will do it with more Art, and you must not think your self secure, because your *Reputation* may perhaps be out of the reach of *Ill-will*; for if it findeth that part *guarded*, it will seek one which is

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more *exposed*. It flieth, like a corrupt Humour, in the Body, to the *weakest part*. If you have a *tender Side*, the World will be sure to find it, and to put the worst *Colour* upon all you say or do, give an *Aggravation* to every thing that may lessen you, and a *spiteful turn* to every thing that might recommend you. *Anger* layeth open those Defects which *Friendship* would not see, and *Civility* might be willing to forget. *Malice* needeth no such *Invitation* to encourage it, neither are any *Pains* more superfluous than those we take to be ill spoken. If *Envy*, which never dyeth, and seldom sleepeth, is content sometimes to be in a *Slumber*, it is very unskilful to make a noise to *awake* it.

Besides, your *Wit* will be misapplied if it is wholly directed to discern the *Faults* of *others*, when it is so necessary to be often used to *mend* and *prevent your own*, The sending our *Thoughts* too much abroad, hath the same Effect, as when a *Family* never stayeth at home; *Neglect* and *Disorder* naturally followeth; as it must do within our selves, if we do not frequently turn our *Eyes* inwards, to see what is amiss with us, where it is a sign we have an *unwelcome Prospect*, when we do not care to *look* upon it, but rather seek our *Con-*
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solutions in the *Faults* of those we converse with.

Avoid being the first in fixing a *hard Censure*, let it be confirmed by the *general Voice*, before you give into it; Neither are you then to give Sentence like a *Magistrate*, or as if you had a *special Authority* to bestow a *good* or *ill Name* at your discretion. Do not dwell too long upon a *weak Side*, touch and go away; take pleasure to stay longer where you can commend, like Bees that fix only upon those Herbs out of which they may extract, the Juice of which their Honey is composed. A *Vertue* stuck with *Bristles* is too rough for this Age; it must be adorned with some *Flowers*, or else it will be unwillingly entertained; so that even where it may be fit to strike, do it like a *Lady*, gently; and assure your self, that where you care to do it, you will wound others more, and hurt your self less, by *soft Stroakes*, than by being *harsh* or *violent*.

The Triumph of *Wit* is to make your *good Nature* subdue your *Censure*; to be quick in *seeing Faults*, and slow in *exposing* them. You are to consider, that the invisible thing called a *Good Name*, is made up of the Breath of Numbers that speak well of you; so that if by a *disobliging Word*

you silence the *meanest*, the *Gale* will be less strong which is to bear up your *Esteem*. And though nothing is so vain as the eager pursuit of *empty Applause*, yet to be well thought of and to be kindly used by the World, is like a *Glory* about a Womans *Head*; 'tis a *Perfume* she carrieth about with her, and leaveth where-ever she goeth; 'tis a *Charm* against *Ill-will*. *Malice* may empty her *Quiver*, but cannot wound; the *Dirt* will not stick, the *Jests* will not take; Without the consent of the World a *Scandal* doth not go deep; it is only a *Slight stroak* upon the injured Party, and returneth with the greater force upon those that gave it.

VANITY and AFFECTATION.

I Must with more than ordinary earnestness give you Caution against *Vanity*, it being the Fault to which your Sex seemeth to be the most *inclined*; and since *Affectation* for the most part attendeth it, I do not know how to divide them. I will not call them *Twins*, because more properly *Vanity* is the *Mother*, and *Affectation* is the *Darling Daughter*; *Vanity* is the Sin, and

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Affectation is the Punishment ; the first may be called the Root of *Self-Love*, the other the *Fruit*. *Vanity* is never at its full growth till it spreadeth into *Affectation*, and then it is compleat.

Not to dwell any longer upon the definition of them, I will pass to the means and motives to avoid them. In order to it, you are to consider, that the World challengeth the right of distributing Esteem and Applause ; so that where any assume by their single Authority to be their own *Carvers*, it groweth angry, and never faileth to seek *Revenge*. And if we may measure a Fault by the greatness of the *Penalty* there are few of a higher size than *Vanity*, as there is scarce a Punishment which can be heavier than that of being laughed at.

Vanity maketh a Woman tainted with it, so top full of her self, that she spilleth it upon the *Company*. And because her own thoughts are intirely imployed in *Self Contemplation* ; she endeavoureth, by a cruel Mistake, to confine her *Acquaintance* to the same narrow Circle of that which only concerneth her Ladiship, forgetting that she is not of half that *Importance* to the World, that she is to her self ; so mistaken she is in her Value, by being her own Ap-

praiser. She will fetch such a Compass in Discourse to bring in her beloved *Self*, and rather than fail, her fine Petty-Coat, that there can hardly be a better Scene than such a Tryal of ridiculous Ingenuity. It is a Pleasure to see her Angle for *Commendations*, and rise so dissatisfied with the Ill-bread *Company*, if they will not bite. To observe her throwing her *Eyes* about to fetch in Prisoners, and go about Cruizing like a Privateer, and so out of *Countenance*, if she return without *Booty*, is no ill piece of Comedy. She is so eager to draw respect, that she always misseth it, yet thinketh it so much her due, that when she faileth she groweth *waspish*, not considering, that it is impossible to commit a Rape upon the will; that it must be fairly gained, and will not be taken by *Storm*; and that in this Case, the Tax ever riseth highest by a *Benevolence*. If the World instead of admiring her *Imaginary Excellencies*, taketh the Liberty to laugh at them, she appealeth from it to her self, for whom she giveth *Sentence*, and proclaimeth it in all *Companies*. On the other side, if incouraged by a *Civil Word*, she is so obliging, that she will give thanks for being laughed at in good Language. She taketh a *Compliment* for a Demonstration, and setteth it
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up as an *Evidence*, even against her Looking-Glass. But the good *Lady* being all this while in a most profound *Ignorance* of her self, forgetteth that Men would not let her talk upon them, and throw so many *senseless words* at their head, if they did not intend to put her Person to Fine and Ransom, for her *Impertinence*. Good words of any other *Lady*, are so many Stones thrown at her, she can by no means bear them, they make her so uneasie, that she cannot keep her *Seat*, but up she riseth, and goeth home half burst with *Anger* and *Strait-Lacing*. If by great chance she saith any thing that hath sence in it, she expecteth such an Excessive rate of *Commendations*, that to her thinking the Company ever riseth in her *Debt*. She looketh upon *Rules* as things made for the common People, and not for Persons of her *Rank*; and this Opinion sometimes tempteth her to extend her Prerogative to the dispensing with the Commandments. If by great *Fortune* she happeneth, in spite of her *Vanity*, to be honest, she is so troublesome with it that as far as in her lieth, she maketh a *scurvy* thing of it. Her bragging of her *Vertue*, looketh as if it cost her so much pains to get the better of her Self, that the *Inferences* are very ridiculous, Her good *Hu-*
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mour is generally applied to the laughing at *good Sense*. It would do one good to see how heartily she despiseth any thing that is fit for her to do. The greatest part of her *Fancy* is laid out in chusing her *Gown*, as her *Discretion* is chiefly imploy'd in *not paying* for it. She is faithful to the *Fashion*, to which not only her *Opinion*, but her *Senses* are wholly resigned: So obsequious she is to it, that she would be ready to be reconciled even to *Vertue* with all its *Faults*, if she had her Dancing Master's Word that it was practis'd at Court.

To a Woman so compos'd when *Affectation* cometh in to improve her *Character*, it is then raised to the highest *Perfection*. She first setteth up for a *Fine thing*, and for that Reason will distinguish her self, right or wrong, in every thing she doth. She would have it thought that she is made of so much the *finer Clay*, and so much more *sifted* than ordinary that she hath no *common Earth* about her. To this end she must neither move nor speak like other Women, because it would be *vulgar*; and therefore must have a Language of her *own*, since *ordinary English* is too coarse for her. The *Looking-glass* in the Morning dictateth to her all the *Motions* of the Day, which by how much the more *studied*,
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are so much the more *mistaken*. She cometh into a Room as if her Limbs were set on with ill-made Screws, which maketh the Company fear the pretty thing should leave some of its *artificial Person* upon the Floor. She doth not like her self as *God Almighty* made her, but will have some of *her own Workmanship*; which is so far from making her a better thing than a *Woman*, that it turneth her into a worse Creature than a *Monkey*. She falleth out with *Nature*, against which she maketh War without admitting a *Truce*, those Moments excepted in which her *Gallant* may reconcile her to it. When she hath a mind to be *soft and languishing*, there is something so unnatural in that *affected Easiness*, that her *Frowns* could not be by many degrees so forbidden. When she would appear unreasonably *humble*, one may see she is so excessively *proud*, that there is no enduring it. There is such an *impertinent Smile*, such a *satisfied Simper*, when she faintly disowneth some fulsome Commendation a Man hapneth to bestow upon her against his Conscience, that her *Thanks* for it are more visible under such a thin *Disguise*, than they could be if she should *print* them. If a *handsomer Woman* taketh any liberty of *Dressing* out of the ordinary Rules

Rules the mistakeh Lady followeth, without distinguishing the *unequal Pattern*, and maketh her self *uglier* by an example misplaced; either forgetting the Privilege of *good Looks* in another, or presuming, without sufficient reason upon *her own*. Her *Discourse* is a *senseless Chime* of *empty Words*, a heap of *Compliments* so equally applied to differing *Persons*, that they are neither valu'd nor believ'd. Her *Eyes* keep pace with her *Tongue*, and are therefore always in *motion*. One may discern that they generally incline to the *compassionate* side, and that, notwithstanding her pretence to *Vertue*, she is gentle to *distressed Lovers*, and *Ladies* that are *merciful*. She will repeat the tender part of a *Play* so feelingly, that the Company may guess, without Injustice, she was not altogether a *disinterested Spectator*. She thinketh that *Paint* and *Sin* are concealed by railing at them. Upon the latter she is less hard, and being divided between the two opposite Prides of her *Beauty* and her *Vertue*, she is often tempted to give broad Hints that some body is dying for her; and of the two she is less unwilling to let the World think she may be sometimes *profan'd*, than that she is never worshipped.

Very

Very great *Beauty* may perhaps so dazle for a time, that Men may not so clearly see the *Deformity* of these *Affectations*; But when the *Brightness* goeth off, and that the *Lover's Eyes* are by that means set at liberty to see things as they are, he will naturally return to his Senses, and recover the Mistake into which the Lady's good Looks had at first engaged him. And being once undeceived, ceaseth to worship that as a *Goddeſs*, which he ſeeth is only an *artificial Shrine* moved by *Wheels* and *Springs* to delude him. Such Women please only like the *first Opening* of a *Scene*, that hath nothing to recommend it but that being *new*. They may be compared to *Flies*, that have pretty shining *Wings* for two or three hot Months, but the first cold Weather maketh an end of them; so the *latter Season* of these *fluttering Creatures* is dismal: From their nearest Friends they receive a very faint Respect; from the rest of the World, the utmost degree of contempt.

Let this *Picture* supply the place of any other *Rules* which might be given to prevent your *reſemblance* to it, The *Deformity* of it, well conſidered, is *Inſtruction* enough; from the ſame reaſon, that the ſight of a *Drunkard* is a better *Sermon* againſt

gainst that *Vice*, than the best that was ever preach'd upon that *Subject*.

P R I D E.

AFTER having said this against *Vanity*, I do not intend to apply the same *Censure* to *Pride*, well placed, and rightly defined. It is an *ambiguous Word*; one kind of it is as much a *Vertue*, as the other is a *Vice*: But we are naturally so apt to chuse the *worst*, that it is become dangerous to commend the *best* side of it.

A Woman is not to be proud of her fine Gown; nor when she hath less Wit than her Neighbours to comfort her self that she hath more Lace. Some Ladies put so much weight upon *Ornaments*, that if one could see into their Hearts, it would be found, that even the Thought of *Death* is made less heavy to them by the contemplation of their being *laid out* in *State*, and *honourably* attended to the *Grave*. One may come a good deal short of such an *Ex-
tream*, and yet still be sufficiently *Impertinent*, by setting a wrong Value upon things, which ought to be used with more indifference. A Lady must not appear sol-
licitous

licitous to ingross *Respect* to her self, but be content with a reasonable *Distribution*, and allow it to others, that she may have it returned to her. She is not to be troublesomely *nice*, nor distinguish her self by being too *delicate*, as if ordinary things were too *course* for her; this is an *unmanly* and *offensive* Pride, and where it is practised, deserveth to be mortified, of which it seldom faileth. She is not to lean too much upon her *Quality*, much less to despise those who are below it. Some make *Quality* an *Idol*, and then their *Reason* must fall down and Worship it. They would have the World think, that no amends can ever be made for the want of a *great Title*, or an ancient *Coat of Arms*: They imagine that with these *advantages* they stand upon the *higher Ground*, which maketh them look down upon *Merit* and *Vertue*, as things inferiour to them. This mistake is not only *senseless*, but *criminal* tho, in putting a greater Price upon that which is a piece of *good Luck*, than upon things which are valuable in themselves. *Laughing* is not enough for such a *Folly*; it must be severely *whipped*, as it justly deserves. It will be confessed, there are frequent *Temptations* given by *pert Upstarts* to be angry, and by that to have our *Judgments* corrupted in these

these Cases : But they are to be resisted; and the utmost that is to be allowed, is, when those of a *new Edition* will forget themselves, so as either to brag of their *weak side*, or to endeavour to hide their *Meanness* by their *Insolence*, to cure them by a little seasonable *Raillery*, a little *Sharpness* well placed, without dwelling too long upon it.

These and many other kinds of *Pride* are to be avoided.

That which is to be recommended to you, is an *Emulation* to raise your self to a *Character*, by which you may be distinguished; an Eagerness for precedence in *Virtue*, and all such other things as may gain you a greater share of the good opinion of the World. *Esteem* to *Vertue* is like a *cherishing Air* to *Plants* and *Flowers*, which maketh them blow and prosper; and for that reason it may be allowed to be in some degree the *Cause* as well as the *Reward* of it. That *Pride* which leadeeth to a good *End*, cannot be a *Vice*, since it is the beginning of a *Vertue*; and to be pleased with just *Applause*, is so far from a *Fault*, that it would be an *ill Symptom* in a Woman, who should not place the greatest part of her *Satisfaction* in it. *Humility* is no doubt a great *Vertue*; but it ceases to be

be so, when it is afraid to scorn an *ill thing*. Against *Vice* and *Folly* it is becoming your *Sex* to be *haughty*; but you must not carry the *Contempt* of *things* to *Arrogance* towards *Persons*, and it must be done with fitting *Distinctions*, else it may be *Inconvenient* by being unseasonable. A *Pride* that raiseth a little *Anger* to be out-done in any thing that is good, will have so good an *Effect*, that it is very hard to allow it to be a *Fault*.

It is no easie matter to carry even between these differing kinds so described; but remember that it is safer for a *Woman* to be thought too *proud*, than too *familiar*.

DIVERSION.

THE last thing I shall recommend to you, is a wise and a safe method of using *Diversions*. To be too eager in the pursuit of *Pleasure* whilst you are *Young*, is dangerous; to catch at it in riper *Years*, is grasping a shadow; it will not be held. Besides that by being less natural it groweth to be indecent. *Diversions* are the most properly applyed, to ease and relieve those who are *Oppressed*, by being too much imployed

ployed, Those that are *Idle* have no need of them, and yet they, above all others, give themselves up to them. To unbend our *Thoughts*, when they are too much stretched by our *Cares*, is not more natural than it is necessary, but to turn our whole Life into a *Holy Day*, is not only ridiculous, but destroyeth Pleasure instead of *promoting* it. The *Mind* like the *Body* is tired by being always in one Posture, too serious breaketh, and too diverting looseneth it: It is *Variety* that giveth the Relish; so that *Diversions* too frequently repeated, grow first to be indifferent, and at last tedious. Whilst they are well chosen and well timed, they are never to be blamed; but when they are used to an Excess, though very *Innocent* at first they often grow to be *Criminal*, and never fail to be *Impertinent*.

Some Ladies are bespoken for Merry Meetings, as *Bessus* was for Duels. They are ingaged in a Circle of *Idleness*, where they turn round for the whole Year, without the *Interruption* of a serious Hour, They know all the Players Names, and are *Intimately* acquainted with all the Booths in *Bartholomew-Fair*. No Soldier is more *Obedient* to the sound of his Captain's *Trumpet*, than they are to that which summoneth them to a *Puppet-Play* or a *Monster*. The
Spring

Spring that bringeth out *Flies*, and *Fools*, maketh them Inhabitants in *Hide Park*; in the Winter they are an Incumbrance to the *Play House*, and the Ballast of the *Drawing-Room*. The Streets all this while are so weary of these daily Faces, that *Men's Eyes* are over-laid with them. The *Sight* is glutted with fine things, as the *Stomach* with sweet ones; and when a fair *Lady* will give too much of her self to the *World*, she groweth luscious, and oppresses instead of pleasing. These *Jolly Ladies* do so continually seek *Diversion*, that in a little time they grow into a *Jest*; yet are unwilling to remember, that if they were seldomer seen, they would not be so often *laughed at*. Besides, they make themselves *Cheap*, than which there cannot be an *unkinder word* bestowed upon your *Sex*.

To play sometimes, to entertain *Company*, or to *divert* your self, is not to be disallowed; but to do it so often as to be called a *Gamester*, is to be avoided, next to the things that are most *Criminal*. It hath Consequences of *several kinds* not to be endured; it will ingage you into a habit of *Idleness* and *ill hours*, draw you into ill mixed *Company*, make you neglect your *Civilities* abroad, and your *Business* at home, and impose into your *Acquaintance* such as will do you no Credit.

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To

To deep *Play* there will be yet greater *Objections*. It will give *Occasion* to the World to ask *spiteful Questions*. How you dare venture to *lose*, and what means you have to *pay* such great *sums*? If you pay *exactly*, it will be enquired from whence the *Money* cometh? If you owe, and especially to a Man, you must be so very *Civil* to him for his forbearance, that it layeth a ground of having it farther improved, if the *Gentleman* is so disposed; who will be thought no unfair *Creditor*, if where the *Estate* faileth he seizeth upon the Person. Besides, if a *Lady* could see her own Face upon an *ill Game*, at a deep Stake, she would certainly forswear any thing that could put her looks under such a *Disadvantage*.

To *Dance* sometimes will not be imputed to you as a Fault; but remember that the end of your *Learning* it was, that you might the better know how to move *gracefully*. It is only an *advantage* so far. When it goeth beyond it, one may call it *excelling* in a Mistake, which is no very great Commendation. It is better for a *Woman* never to *Dance*, because she hath no skill in it, than to do it too often, because she doth it well. The easiest as well as the safest *Method* of doing it, is in *private Companies*, amongst *particular Friends*, and then carelessly, like a
Diver-

DIVERSIONS. 83

Diversion, rather than with *Solemnity*, as if it was a business, or had any thing in it to deserve a *Month's preparation* by serious Conference with a *Dancing-Master*.

Much more might be said to all these Heads, and many more might be added to them. But I must restrain my Thoughts, which are full of my Dear Child, and would overflow into a Volume, which would not be fit for a *New-Years-Gift*. I will conclude with my warmest Wishes for all that is good to you. That you may live so as to be an Ornament to your Family, and a Pattern to your Sex. That you may be blessed with a Husband that may value, and with Children that may inherit your Vertue; That you may shine in the World by a true Light, and silence Envy by deserving to be esteemed; That Wit and Vertue may both conspire to make you a great Figure. When they are separated, the first is so empty, and the other so faint, that they scarce have right to be commended. May they therefore meet and never part; let them be your Guardian Angels, and be sure never to stray out of the distance of their joint protection. May you so raise your Character, that you may help to make the next Age a better thing, and leave Posterity in your Debt for the advantage it shall receive by your Example. G 2 Let

Let me conjure you, *My Dearest*, to comply with this kind Ambition of a Father, whose Thoughts are so ingaged in your behalf, that he reckoneth your Happiness to be the greatest part of his own.

THE

THE
CHARACTER
OF A
TRIMMER
HIS
OPINION
OF

I. *The Laws and Govern-
ment.*

II. *Protestant Religion.*

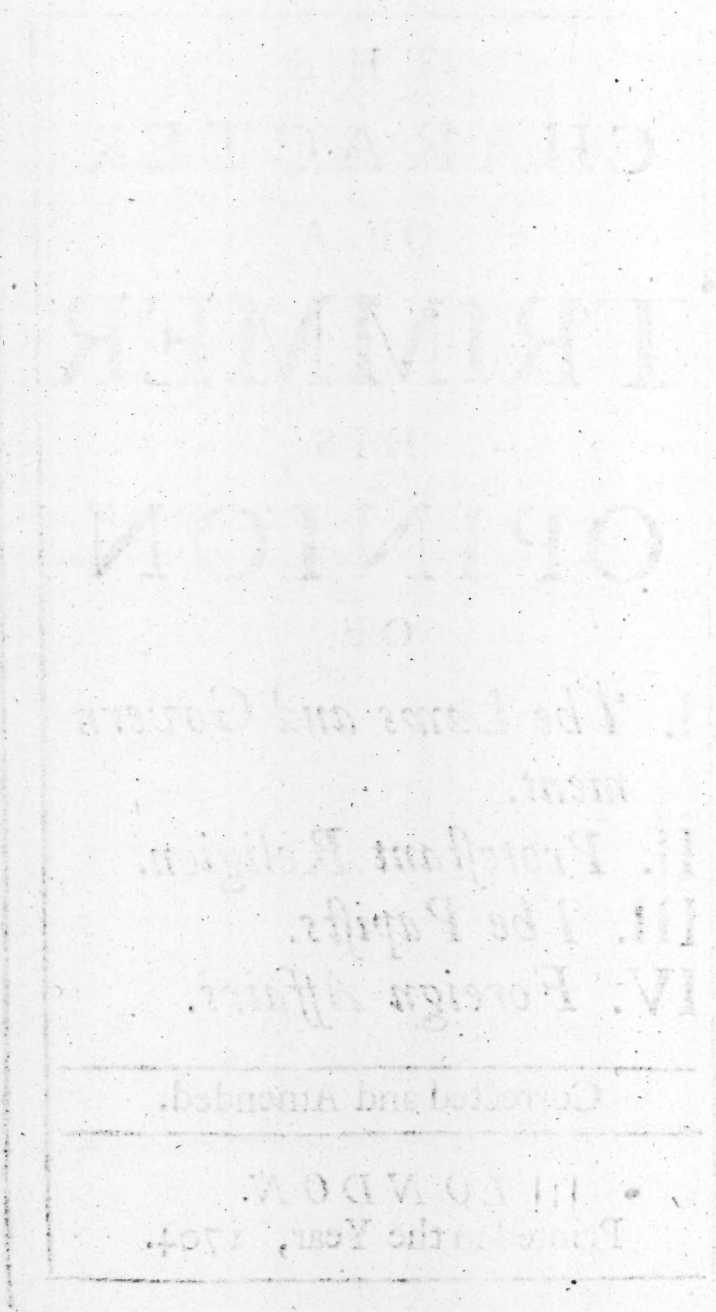
III. *The Papists.*

IV. *Foreign Affairs.*

Corrected and Amended.

L O N D O N.

Printed in the Year, 1704.



THE
CHARACTER

TRIMMER

OPINION

OF

THE FARM AND GARDEN

THE FARMER

IV. Foreign Affairs

Continued and Amended.

THE FARMER

Printed in the Year, 1794.

THE P R E F A C E.

IT must be more than an ordinary provocation that can tempt a Man to write in an Age over-run with Scribblers, as Egypt was with Flies and Locusts: That worst Vermin of small Authors has given the World such a Surfeit, that instead of desiring to Write, a Man would be more inclin'd to wish for his own ease, that he could not Read; but there are somethings which do so raise our Passions, that our Reason can make no Resistance; and when Madmen, in two Extremes, shall agree to make common Sense Treason, and joyn to fix an ill Character upon the only Men in the Nation who deserve a good one; I am no longer Master of my better Resolution to let the World alone, and must break loose from my more reasonable Thoughts, to expose these false Coyners, who would make their Copper Wares pass upon us for good Payment.

Amongst all the Engines of Dissention, there has been none more powerfull in all Times, than the fixing Names upon one another of Contumely and Reproach, and the reason is
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plain,

plain, in respect of the People, who tho' generally they are incapable of making a Syllogism, or forming an Argument, yet they can pronounce a word; and that serves their turn to throw it with their dull malice at the Head of those they do not like; such things ever begin in Jest, and end in Blood, and the same word which at first makes the Company merry, grows in time to a Military Signal to cut one another's Throat.

These Mistakes are to be lamented, tho' not easily cured, being suitable enough to the corrupted Nature of Mankind; but 'tis hard, that Men will not only invent ill Names, but they will wrest and misinterpret good ones; so afraid some are even of a reconciling sound, that they raise another noise to keep it from being heard, lest it should set up, and encourage a dangerous sort of Men, who prefer Peace and Agreement, before Violence and Confusion.

Were it not for this, why, after we have played the Fool with throwing Whig and Tory at one another, as Boys do Snow-Balls, do we grow angry at a new Name, which by its true signification might do as much to put us into our Wits, as the other has done to put us out of them?

This innocent word Trimmer signifies no more than this, That if Men are together in a Boat,

Boat, and one part of the Company would weigh it down on one side, another would make it lean as much to the contrary; it happens there is a third Opinion of those, who conceive it would do as well, if the Boat went even, without endangering the Passengers; now 'tis hard to imagine by what Figure in Language, or by what Rule in Sense this comes to be a Fault, and it is much more a Wonder it should be thought a Heresy.

But so it happens, that the poor Trimmer has now all the Powder spent upon him alone, while the Whig is a forgotten, or at least a neglected Enemy; there is no danger now to the State (if some Men may be believed) but from the Beast called a Trimmer, take heed of him, he is the Instrument that must destroy Church and State; a new kind of Monster, whose deformity is so expos'd, that, were it a true Picture that is made of him, it would be enough to fright Children, and make Women miscarry at the sight of it.

But it may be worth the examining, whether he is such a Beast as he is Painted. I am not of that Opinion, and am so far from thinking him an Infidel either in Church or State, that I am neither afraid to expose the Articles of his Faith in Relation to Government, nor to say that I prefer them before any other Political Creed, that either our an-
gry

gry Divines, or our refined States-men would impose upon us.

I have therefore in the following Discourse endeavour'd to explain the Trimmer's Principles and Opinions, and then leave it to all discerning and Impartial Judges, whether he can with Justice be so Arraign'd, and whether those who deliberately pervert a good Name, do not very justly deserve the worst that can be put upon themselves.

THE

THE
Trimmer's Opinion.
OF THE
LAWS
AND
GOVERNMENT.

OUr Trimmer, as he has a great Veneration for Laws in general, so he has more particular for our own, he looks upon them as the Chains that tye up our unruly Passions, which else, like wild Beasts let loose, would reduce the world into its first State of Barbarism and Hostility; the good things we enjoy, we owe to them; and all the ill things we are freed from by their Protection.

God himself thought it not enough to be a Creator, without being a Lawgiver, and his goodness had been defective towards mankind in making them, if he had not
pre-

prescribed Rules to make them happy too.

All Laws flow from that of Nature, and where that is not the Foundation, they may be legally impos'd, but they will be lamely obeyed: By this Nature, is not meant that which Fools and Madmen misquote to justify their Excesses; it is innocent and uncorrupted Nature, that which disposes Men to chuse Vertue, without its being prescribed, and which is so far from inspiring ill thoughts into us, that we take pains to suppress the good ones it infuses.

The Civilized World has ever paid a willing subjection to Laws, even Conquerors have done Homage to them; as the *Romans*, who took Patterns of good Laws, even from those they had subdued; and at the same time that they Triumph'd over an enslav'd People, the very Laws of that place did not only remain safe, but became Victorious; their new Masters, instead of suppressing them, paid them more respect than they had from those who first made them; and by this wise Method they arrived to such an admirable Constitution of Laws, that to this day they Reign by them; this Excellency of them Triumphs still, and the World pays now an acknowledgment of their obedience to that Mighty Empire,

Empire, though so many Ages after it is dissolved; and by a later instance, the Kings of *France*, who in practice use their Laws pretty familiarly, yet think their Picture is drawn with most advantage upon their Seals, when they are placed in the Seat of Justice: And tho' the Hieroglyphick is not there of so much use to the People as they would wish, yet it shews that no Prince is so Great, as not to think fit, for his own Credit, at least, to give an outward, when he refuses a real worship to the Laws.

They are to mankind that which the Sun is to Plants, whilst it cherishes and preserves 'em. Where they have their force and are not clouded or suppress'd, every thing smiles and flourishes; but where they are darkened and not suffered to shine out, it makes every thing to wither and decay.

They secure Men not only against one another, but against themselves too; they are a Sanctuary, to which the Crown has occasion to resort as often as the People, so that it is an Interest as well as a Duty to preserve them.

There would be no end of making a Panegyrick of Laws; let it be enough to add, that without Laws the World would become a Wilderness, and Men little less than Beasts; but with all this, the best things

things may come to be the worst, if they are not in good hands ; and if it be true that the wisest Men generally make the Laws, it is as true, that the strongest do often Interpret them ; And as Rivers belong as much to the Channel where they run, as to the Spring from whence they first rise, so the Laws depend as much upon the Pipes thro' which they are to pass, as upon the Fountain from whence they flow.

The Authority of a King who is Head of the Law, as well as the Dignity of Publick Justice, is debased, when the clear stream of the Law is puddled and disturbed by Bunglers, or convey'd by unclean Instruments to the People.

Our *Trimmer* would have them appear in their full lustre, and would be grieved to see the day, when, instead of speaking with Authority from the Seats of Justice they should speak out of a Grate with a lamenting voice, like Prisoners that desire to be rescu'd.

He wishes that the Bench may have a Natural, as well as a Legal Superiority to the Bar ; he thinks Mensabilities very much misplac'd, when the Reason of him that pleads, is visibly too strong for those who Judge and give Sentence.

When

When those from the Bar seem to dictate to their Superiours upon the Bench, their Furr's will look scurvily about them, and the respect of the World will leave the bare Character of a Judge, to follow the Essential knowledge of a Lawyer, who may be greater in himself, than the other can be with all his Trappings.

An uncontested Superiority in any Calling, will have the better of any distinct Name that Authority can put upon it, and therefore if ever such an unnatural Method should be introduc'd, it is then that *Westminster-Hall* might be said to stand upon its Head, and though Justice it self can never be so, yet the Administration of it would be rendred ridiculous.

A Judge has such power lodg'd in him, that the King will never be thought to have chosen well, where the Voice of Mankind has not before-hand recommended the Man to his Station; when Men are made Judges of what they do not understand, the World censures such a Choice, not out of ill will to the Men, but fear to themselves.

If the King had the sole Power of chusing Physicians, Men would tremble to see Bunglers preferred, yet the necessity of taking Physick from a Doctor, is generally not
so

so great, as that of receiving Justice from a Judge: And yet the Inferences will be very severe in such cases; for either it will be thought, that such Men bought what they were not able to deserve; or which is as bad, that Obedience shall be look'd upon as a better Qualification in a Judge, than Skill or Integrity: When such sacred things as the Laws are not only touch'd, but guided by prophane Hands; Men will fear that out of the Tree of the Law, from whence we expect Shade and Shelter, such Workmen will make Cudgels to beat us with, or rather that they will turn the Canon upon our Properties, that were intrusted with them for their Defence.

To see the Laws Mangled, Disguised, Speak quite another Language than their own; to see them thrown from the Dignity of protecting Mankind, to the disgraceful Office of destroying them; and notwithstanding their Innocence in themselves, to be made the worst Instruments that the most refined Villany can make use of, will raise Mens Anger above the power of laying it down again, and tempt them to follow the Evil Examples given them of Judging without Hearing, when so provoked by their desire of Revenge. Our *Trimmer* therefore, as he thinks the Laws are

are Jewels, so he believes they are no better set, than in the constitution of our *English* Government, if rightly understood, and carefully preserved.

It would be too great Partiality, to say they are perfect, or liable to no Objection; such things are not of this World; but if they have more Excellencies, and fewer Faults than any other we know, it is enough to recommend them to our Esteem.

The Dispute, which is a greater Beauty, a Monarchy or a Common-wealth, has lasted long between their contending Lovers, and (they have behaved themselves so like Lovers, who in good Manners must be out of their Wits) who used such Figures to exalt their own Idols on either side, and such angry Aggravations, to reproach one another in the Contest, that moderate Men have in all times smil'd upon this eagerness, and thought it differ'd very little from a downright Frenzy: We in *England*, by a happy use of the Controversie, conclude them both in the wrong, and reject them from being our Pattern, not taking their Words in the utmost extent, which is a thing, that Monarchy, leaves Men no Liberty, and a Common-wealth such a one, as allows them no Quiet.

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We think that a wise Mean, between these barbarous Extreame, is that which Self-Preservation ought to dictate to our Wishes; and we may say we have attained to this Mean in a greater Measure, than any Nation now in Being. or perhaps any we have read of, tho' never so much Celebrated for the Wisdom or Felicity of their Constitutions: We take from one the too great Power of doing Hurt, and yet leave enough to govern and protect us; we take from the other the Confusion, the Parity, the Animosities and the License, and yet reserve a due Care of such a Liberty, as may consist with Mens Allegiance; but it being hard, if not impossible, to be exactly even, our Government has much the stronger Biass towards Monarchy, which by the General Consent and Practice of Mankind, seems to have the Advantage in dispute against a Common-wealth; The Rules of a Common-wealth, are too hard for the Bulk of Mankind to come up to; that Form of Government requires such a Spirit to carry it on, as do's not dwell in great Numbers, but is restrain'd to so very few, especially in this Age, that let the Methods appear never so much reasonable in Paper, they must fail in Practice, which will ever be suited more to Mens Nature as it is, than as it should be.

Monar-

Monarchy is lik'd by the People for the Bells and the Tinsel, the outward Pomp and Gilding, and there must be Milk for Babes, since the greatest part of Mankind are, and ever will be included in that List; and it is approv'd by wise and thinking Men (all Circumstances and Objections impartially consider'd) that it has so great an Advantage above all other Forms, when the Administration of that Power falls in good Hands, that all other Governments look out of Countenance, when they are set in Competition with it. *Lycurgus* might have sav'd himself the trouble of making Laws, if either he had been Immortal, or that he could have secur'd to Posterity, a succeeding Race of Princes like himself; his own Example was a better Law than he could with all his Skill tell how to make; such a Prince is a Living Law, that dictates to his Subjects, whose thoughts in that case never rise above their Obedience, the Confidence they have in the Vertue and Knowledge of the Master, preventing the Scruples and Apprehensions to which Men are naturally inclin'd, in relation to those that govern them; such a Magistrate is the Life and Soul of Justice, whereas the Law is but a Body, and a Dead one too, without his Influence to give it warmth and vigour,

and by the irresistible Power of his Vertue, he do's so reconcile Dominion and Allegiance, that all disputes between them are silenced and subdued: and indeed no Monarchy can be Perfect and Absolute without exception, but where the Prince is Superior by his Vertue, as well as by his Character and his Power; so that to screw out Precedents and unlimited Power, is a plain diminution to a Prince that Nature has made Great, and who had better make himself a glorious Example to Posterity, than borrow an Authority from Dark Records, raised out of the Grave; which besides their Non-usage, have always in them matter of Controversie and Debate: and it may be affirmed, that the instances are very rare of Princes having the worst in the dispute with their People, if they were Eminent for Justice in time of Peace, or Conduct in time of War; such Advantage the Crown giveth to those who adorn it by their own Personal Vertues.

But since for the greater Honour of Good and Wise Princes, and the better to set off their Character by the Comparison, Heaven has decreed there must be a Mixture, and that such as are perverse and insufficient or at least both, are perhaps to have their equal turns in the Govern-

Government of the World, and besides that, the Will of Man is so various, and so unbounded a thing, and so fatal too when joyned with Power misapplied; it is no wonder if those who are to be govern'd, are unwilling to have so dangerous as well as so uncertain a Standard of their Obedience.

There must be therefore Rules and Laws: for want of which, or at least the Observation of them, it was as a Capital for a Man to say, that *Nero* did not play well upon the Lute, as to commit Treason or Blaspheme the Gods. And even *Vespasian* himself had like to have lost his life, for sleeping whilst he should have attended and admir'd that Emperour's Impertinence upon the Stage. There is a wantonness in great Power that Men are generally too apt to be corrupted with, and for that reason, a Wise Prince, to prevent the temptation arising from common frailty, would choose to Govern by Rules for his own Sake, as well as for his peoples, since it only secures him from Errors, and does not lessen the real Authority, that a good Magistrate would care to be possessed of; for if the Will of a prince is contrary either to Reason it self. or to the universal Opinion of his Subjects, the Law by a kind restraint rescues

him from a disease that would undo him; if his Will on the other side is reasonable or well directed, that Will immediately becomes a Law, and he is arbitrary by an easie and natural Consequence, without taking pains, or overturning the World for it.

If Princes consider Laws as things impos'd on them, they have the appearance of Fetters of Iron; but to such as would make them their choise as well as their practice, they are Chains of Gold; and in that respect are Ornaments, as in others they are a defence to them, and by a Comparison, not improper for God's Vicegerents upon Earth; as our maker never Commands our Obedience to any thing, that as reasonable Creatures we ought not to make our own Election; so a good and wise Governour, tho' all Laws were abolish'd, would by the voluntary direction of his own Reason, do without restraint the very same things that they would have enjoyned,

Our *Trimmer* thinks that the King and Kingdom ought to be one Creature, not to be separated in their Political Capacity; and when either of them undertake to act a-part, it is like the crawling of Worms after they are cut in pieces, which cannot
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^be a lasting motion, the whole Creature not stirring at a time. If the Body has a dead Palsie, the Head cannot make it move; and God hath not yet delegated such a healing Power to Princes, as that they can in a Moment say to a Languishing People oppress'd and in despair, take up your Beds and walk.

The Figure of a King, its so comprehensive and exalted a thing, that it is a kind of degrading him, to lodge that Power separately in his own natural Person, which can never be safely or naturally Great, but where the People are so united to him, as to be Flesh of his Flesh, and Bone of his Bone: For when he is reduc'd to the single definition of a Man, he sinks into so low a Character, that it is a Temptation upon Mens Allegiance, and an impairing that Veneration which is necessary to preserve their Duty to him; whereas a Prince who is so joyned to his People, that they seem to be his Limbs rather than his Subjects, Cloathed with Mercy and Justice rightly apply'd in their several places, his Throne supported by Love as well as by Power, and the warm Wishes of his devoted Subjects, like never failing Incense, still ascending towards him, looks so like the best Image we can frame to our selves of God

Almighty, that Men would have much ado not to fall down and worship him; and would be much more tempted to the Sin of Idolatry, than to that of Disobedience.

Our *Trimmer* is of Opinion, that there must be so much Dignity inseparably annexed to the Royal Function, as may be sufficient to secure it from Insolence and Contempt; and there must be Condescensions from the Throne, like kind showers from Heaven, that the Prince may look so much the more like God Almighty's Deputy upon Earth: for Power without Love hath a terrifying aspect; and the Worship which is paid to it, is like that which the *Indians* give out of fear to wild Beasts and Devils: He that fears God only because there is an Hell, must wish there were no God; and he who fears the King only because he can Punish, must wish there were no King; so that without a principle of Love, there can be no true Allegiance; and there must remain perpetual Seeds of Resistance against a Power that is built upon such an unnatural Foundation, as that of Fear and Terrour. All Force is a kind of Foul-play; and whosoever aims at it himself, does by implication allow it to those he Plays with; so that there will be
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ever Matter prepared in the Minds of People when they are provoked, and the Prince, to secure himself, must live in the midst of his own Subjects, as if he were in a Conquer'd Country, raise Arms as if he were immediately to meet or resist an Invasion, and all this while sleep as unquietly from the fear of the Remedies, as he did before from that of the Disease; it being hard for him to forget, that more Princes have been destroy'd by their Guards than by their People; and that even at the time when the Rule was *Quod Principi placuit Lex esto*: The Armies and *Prætorian* Bands, which were the Instruments of that unruly Power, were frequently the means made use of to destroy them who had it. There will ever be this difference between God and his Vicegerents, that God is still above the Instruments he uses, and out of the danger of receiving hurt from them: But Princes can never lodge Power in any hands, which may not at some time turn it back upon them; for tho' it is possible enough for a King to have Power to satisfy his Ambition, yet no Kingdom has Money enough to satisfy the Avarice of Under-workmen, who learn, from that Prince who will exact more than belongs to him, to expect from him much more than they deserve, and growing

ing angry upon the first disappointment, they are the Devils which grow terrible to the Conjurers themselves who brought them up, and can't send them down again; And besides that there can be no lasting Radical Security, but where the Governed are satisfied with the Governours, It must be a Dominion very unpleasant to a Prince of an elevated Mind, to impose an abject and sordid Servility, instead of receiving the willing Sacrifice of Duty and Obedience. The bravest Princes in all times, who were incapable of any other kind of Fear, have fear'd to grieve their own People; such a Fear is a Glory, and in this sense 'tis an Infamy not to be a Coward: So that the mistaken Heroes who are void of this generous kind of Fear, need no other aggravation to compleat their ill Characters.

When a despotick Prince has bruised all his Subjects with a slavish Obedience, all the Force he can use cannot subdue his own Fears; Enemies of his own Creation, to which he can never be reconcil'd, it being impossible to do Injustice, and not to fear Revenge; there is no cure for this Fear, but the not deserving to be hurt; and therefore a Prince who does not allow his Thoughts to stray beyond the Rules of Justice, has always the Blessing of an inward
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quiet and assurance, as a natural effect of his good Meaning to his People; and tho' he will not neglect due precautions to secure himself in all Events, yet he is incapable of entertaining vain and remote suspicions of those, of whom he resolves never to deserve ill.

It is very hard for a Prince to fear Rebellion, who neither does, nor intends to do any thing to provoke it; therefore too great a diligence in the Governours, to raise and improve dangers and fears from the People, is no very good Symptom, and naturally begets an inference, that they have thoughts of putting their Subjects Allegiance to a Tryal; and therefore not without some Reason fear before hand, that the Irregularities they intend, may raise Men to a Resistance.

Our *Trimmer* thinks it no advantage to a Government, to endeavour the suppressing all kind of Right which may remain in the Body of the People, or to employ small Authors in it, whose Officiousness or want of Money may encourage them to write, tho' it is very uneasie to have Abilities equal to such a Subject; they forget that in their too high strain'd Arguments for the Rights of Princes, they very often plead against humane Nature, which will
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always give a Bias to those Reasons which seem of her side: It is the People that Reads those Books, and it is the People that must judge of them; and therefore no Maxims should be laid down for the Right of Government, to which there can be any Reasonable Objection; for the World has an Interest, and for that Reason is more than ordinary discerning to find out the weak sides of such Arguments as are intended to do them hurt; and it is a diminution to a Government, to Promote or Countenance such wellaffected mistakes which are turned upon it with disadvantage, whenever they are detected and expos'd; and Naturally the too earnest Endeavours to take from Men the Right they have, tempt them, by the Example, to claim that which they have not.

In Power, as in most other things, the way for Princes to keep it, is not to grasp more than their Arms can well hold; the nice and unnecessary enquiring into these things, or the Licensing some Books, and suppressing some others without sufficient Reason to Justifie the doing either, is so far from being an Advantage to a Government, that it exposes it to the Censure of being Partial, and to the suspicion of having some hidden designs to be carried on by these unusual Methods. When

When all is said, there is a Natural Reason of State, and undefinable thing, grounded upon the common Good of Mankind, which is immortal, and in all Changes and Revolutions, still preserves its Original Right of saving a Nation, when the Letter of the Law perhaps would destroy it; and by whatsoever means it moves, carrieth a Power with it, that admits of no opposition, being supported by Nature, which inspires an immediate consent at some critical Times into every individual Member, to that which visibly tendeth to preservation of the whole; and this being so, a wise Prince instead of Controverting the right of this Reason of State, will by all means endeavour it may be of his side; and then he will be secure.

Our *Trimmer* cannot conceive that the Power of any Prince can be lasting, but where 'tis built upon the foundation of his own unborrowed Vertue; he must not only be the first Mover, and the Fountain from whence the great Acts of State originally flow, but he must be thought so to his People, that they may preserve their Veneration for him; he must be jealous of his Power, and not impart so much of it to any about him, as that he may suffer an Eclipse by it.

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He cannot take too much care to keep himself up; for when a Prince is thought to be led by those, with whom he should only advise, and that the Commands he gives are transmitted through him, and are not of his own growth; the World will look upon him as a Bird adorned with Feathers that are not his own, or consider him rather as an Engine than a living Creature: Besides, 'twould be a Contradiction for a Prince to fear a Commonwealth, and at the same time create one himself, by delegating such a Power to any number of Men near him, as is inconsistent with the Figure of a Monarch: It is the worst kind of Co-ordination the Crown can submit to; for it is the exercise of Power that draws the respect along with it, and when that is parted with, the bare Character of a King is not sufficient to keep it up; but tho' it is a diminution to a Prince, to parcel out so liberally his Power amongst his Favourites, it's worse to divide with any other Man, and to bring himself in Competition with a single Rival: A Partner in Government is so unnatural a thing, that it is a squint-ey'd Allegiance that must be paid to such a double bottom'd Monarchy. The two Czarsof *Muscovy* are an Example, that the more civiliz'd part of the World
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will not be proud to follow, whatsoever Gloss may be put upon this method, by those to whom it may be of some use, the Prince will do well to remember, and reflect upon the Story of certain Men who had set up a Statue in Honour of Sun, yet in a very little time they turned their backs to the Sun, and their Faces to the Statue.

These Mystical Unions are better plac'd in the other World, than they are in this; and we shall have much ado to find, that in a Monarchy, God's Vicegerency is delegated to more Heads than that which is appointed.

Princes may lend some of their Light to make another shine, but they must still preserve the superiority of being the brighter Planet, and when it happens that the Reversion is in Men's Eyes, there is more care necessary to keep up the Dignity of Possessions, that Men may not forget who is King, either out of their hopes or fears who shall be. If the Sun shou'd part with all his Light to any of the Stars, the *Indians* would not know where to find their God, after he had so despos'd himself, and would make the Light (where-ever it went) the Object of their Worship.

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All Usurpation is alike upon Sovereignty, its no matter from what hand it comes; and crowned Heads are to be the more Circumspect, in respect Mens thoughts are naturally apt to ramble beyond what is present, they love to work at a distance; and in their greedy Expectations, which their minds may be fill'd with, of a new Master, the old one may be left to look a little out of Countenance.

Our *Trimmer* owns a Passion for Liberty, yet so restrained, that it does not in the least impair or taint his Allegiance; he thinks it hard for a Soul that does not love Liberty, ever to raise its self to another World; he takes it to be the foundation of all Vertue, and the only seasoning that gives a relish to Life; and tho' the laziness of a slavish subjection, has its Charms for the more gross and earthy part of Mankind, yet to Men made of a better sort of Clay, all that the World can give without Liberty has no taste: It is true, nothing is sold so cheap by unthinking Men, but that does no more lessen the real value of it, than a Country Fellow's Ignorance does that of a Diamond, in selling it for a Pot of Ale. Liberty is the Mistress of Mankind, she has powerful Charms which do so dazzle us, that we find Beauties in her which perhpas
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are not there, as we do in other Mistresses; yet if she was not a Beauty, the World would not run mad for her; therefore since the reasonable desire of it ought not to be restrain'd, and that even the unreasonable desire of it cannot be entirely suppress'd, those who would take it away from a People possess'd of it, are likely to fail in the attempting, or be very unquiet in the keeping of it.

Our *Trimmer* admires our blessed Constitution, in which Dominion and Liberty are so well reconciled: it gives to the Prince the glorious Power of commanding Freemen, and to the Subject, the satisfaction of seeing the Power so lodged, as that their Liberties are secure; it does not allow the Crown such a ruining Power, as that no Grass can grow where e're it treads, but a cherishing and protecting Power; such a one as hath a grim Aspect only to the offending Subjects, but is the Joy and the Pride of all the good ones; their own Interest being so bound up in it, as to engage them to defend and support it: and tho' in some instances the King is restrain'd, yet nothing in the Government can move without him: Our Laws make a distinction between Vassalage and Obedience, between devouring Perogatives, and a licentious ungovernable Freedom; and as of all the

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Orders of Building, the Composite is 'the best, so ours, by a happy mixture and a wise choice of what is best in others, is brought into a Form that is our Felicity who live under it, and the Envy of our Neighbour that cannot imitate it

The Crown has Power sufficient to protect our Liberties. The People have so much Liberty, as is necessary to make them useful to the Crown.

Our Government is in a just proportion, no Tympany, no unnatural swelling either of Power or Liberty; and whereas in all overgrown Monarchies, Reason, Learning and Enquiry, are hang'd in Effigy for Mutineers; here they are encouraged and cherished, as the surest Friends to a Government establish'd upon the Foundation of Law and Justice. When all is done, those who look for Perfection in this World, may look as the *Jews* have for their *Messias*; and therefore our *Trimmer* is not so unreasonably Partial as to free our Government from all Objections: no doubt there have been fatal Instances of its Sickness, and more than that, of its Mortality for sometime, tho' by a Miracle, it hath been reviv'd again: But till we have another race of Mankind, in all Constitutions that are bounded, there will ever be some matter

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of Strife and Contention; and rather than want Pretensions, Mens Passions and Interests will raise them from the most inconsiderable Causes.

Our Government is like our Climate; there are Winds which are sometimes loud and unquiet, and yet with all the Trouble they give us, we owe great part of our Health unto them: they clear the Air, which else would be like a standing Pool, and instead of Refreshment, would be a Disease unto us.

There may be fresh Gales of asserting Liberty, without turning into such storms of Hurricane, as that the State should run any Hazard of being cast away by them: these strugglings which are natural to all mixed Governments, while they are kept from growing into Convulsions, do by a mutual Agitation from the several parts, rather support and strengthen, than weaken or maim the Constitution; and the whole Frame, instead of being torn or disjointed, comes to be the better and closer knit by being thus exercised: but whatever Faults our Government may have, or a discerning Critick may find in it, when he looks upon it alone; let any other be set against it, and then it shews its Comparative Beauty: Let us look npon the most glittering outside of unbounded Authority, and upon a nearer

enquiry, we shall find nothing but poor and miserable Deformity within ; let us imagine a Prince living in his Kingdom, as if in a great Gally, his Subjects rugging at the Oar, laden with Chains, and reduced to real Rags, that they may gain him imaginary Lawrels ; let us represent him gazing among his Flatterers, and receiving their false Worship ; like a Child never Contradicted, and therefore always Cozen'd ; or like a Lady Complemented only to be Abused ; Condemned never to hear Truth, and consequently, never to do Justice, wallowing in the soft Bed of wanton and unbridled Greatness, not less odious to the Instruments themselves, than to the Objects of his Tyranny ; blown up into an Ambitious Droopy, never to be satisfied by the Conquest of other People, or by the Oppression of his own : by aiming to be more than a Man, he falls lower than the meanest of 'em ; a mistaken Creature swelled with Panegyricks, and flattered out of his Senses, and not only an Incumbrance, but a Nuisance to Mankind ; a hardened and unrelenting Soul, and like some Creatures that grow Fat with Poisons, he grows Great by other Mens Miseries ; an Ambitious Ape of the Divine Greatness ; an unruly Giant that would storm even Heaven it self, but
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that his scaling Ladders are not long enough ; in short, a wild and devouring Creature in rich Trappings, and with all his Pride no more than a Whip in God Almighty's hand, to be thrown into the Fire when the World has been sufficiently scourged with it : This Picture laid in right Colours would not incite Men to wish for such a Government, but rather to acknowledge the happiness of our own, under which we enjoy all the Priviledges Reasonable Men can desire, and avoid all the Miseries many others are subject to ; so that our *Trimmer* would keep it with all its Faults ; and does as little forgive those who give the occasion of breaking it, as he does those that take it.

Our *Trimmer* is a Friend to Parliaments, notwithstanding all their Faults and Excesses, which of late have given such matter of Objection to them ; he thinks that tho' they may at sometimes be troublesome to Authority, yet they add the greatest strength to it under a wise Administration ; he believes no Government is perfect except a kind of Omnipotence reside in it, to exercise upon great Occasions : Now this cannot be obtained by Force alone upon People, let it be never so great ; there must be their consent too, or else a Nation

moves only by being driven, a sluggish and constrained Motion, void of that Life and Vigour which is necessary to produce great things; whereas the virtual Consent of the whole being included in their Representatives, and the King giving the Sanction to the united Sense of the People, every Act done by such an Authority, seems to be an effect of their Choice, as well as a part of their Duty; and they do with an Eagerness, of which Men are incapable whilst under a Force, execute whatsoever is so enjoined, as their own Wills better explained by Parliament, rather than from the terror of incurring the Penalty of the Law for omitting it; and by means of this Political Omnipotence, whatever Sap or Juice there is in a Nation, may be to the last drop produc'd, whilst it rises naturally from the Root: whereas all Power exercis'd without consent, is like the giving Wounds and Gashes, and tapping a Tree at unreasonable Times, for the present occasion, which in a very little time must needs destroy it.

Our *Trimmer* believes, that by the advantage of our Situation there can hardly any such sudden Disease come upon us, but that the King may have time enough left to consult with his Physicians in Parliament;

ment; Pretences indeed may be made, but a real necessity so pressing, that no delay is to be admitted, is hardly to be imagin'd: and it will be neither easie to give an instance of any such thing for the time past, or reasonable to Presume it will ever happen for the time to come: But if that strange thing should fall out, our *Trimmer* is not so streight-lac'd, as to let a Nation die or be stifled, rather than it should be help'd by any but the proper Officers. The Cases themselves will bring the Remedies along with them; and he is not afraid to allow, That in order to its Preservation, there is a hidden Power in Government, which would be lost if it was designed, a certain Mystery, by Virtue of which a Nation may at some Critical times be secur'd from Ruine; but then it must be kept as a Mystery: it is rendred useless when touch'd by unskilful Hands: And no Government ever had, or deserv'd to have that Power, which was so unwary as to anticipate their Claim to it. Our *Trimmer* cannot help thinking it had been better, if the Triennial Act had been observ'd, because 'tis the Law; and he would not have the Crown, by such an Example teach the Nation to break it: all irregularity is catching; it has a Contagion in it, especially in an Age, so much

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enclin'd to follow ill Patterns than good ones.

He would have a Parliment, because 'tis an Essential part of the Constitution, even without the Law, it being the only Provision in extraordinary Cases, in which there would be otherwise no Remedy; and there can be no greater Solecism in Government, than a failure of Justice.

He would have had one, because nothing else can unite and heal us; all other Means are meer Shifts and Projects, Houses of Cards, to be blown down with the least Breath, and cannot resist the Difficulties which are ever presum'd in things of this kind; and he would have had one, because it might have done the King good, and could not possibly have done him hurt, without his consent, which in that Case is not to be suppos'd; and therefore for him to fear it, is so strange and so little to be comprehended, that the Reasons can never be presum'd to grow in our Soyl, or to thrive in it, when transplanted from any other Country; and no doubt there are such irresistible Arguments for calling a Parliament, and tho' it might be deny'd to the unmanly mutinous Petitions of Men, that are malicious and disaffected, it will be granted to the soft and obsequious Murmurs of his

his Majesty's best Subjects; and there will be such Rhetorick in their silent Grief, that it will at last prevail against the Artifices of those, who either out of Guilt or Interest, are afraid to throw themselves upon their Country, knowing how scurvily they have used it; that day of Judgment will come, tho' we know neither the day nor the hour: And our *Trimmer* would live so as to be prepared for it; with full Assurance in the mean time, that the lamenting Voice of a Nation cannot long be resisted, and that a Prince who could so easily forgive his People when they had been in the wrong, cannot fail to hear them when they are in the right.

The Trimmer's Opinion concerning the Protestant Religion.

Religion has such a Superiority above other things, and that indispensable Influence upon all Mankind, that it is as necessary to our Living Happy in this World, as it is to our being Say'd in the next: without it man is an abandon'd Creature, one of the worst Beasts Nature hath produc'd, and fit only for the Society of Wolves and Bears: therefore in all Ages
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it has been the Foundation of Government : And tho' false Gods have been impos'd upon the Credulous part of the World, yet they were Gods still in their own Opinion ; and the Awe and Reverence Men had to them and their Oracles, kept them within bounds towards one another, which the Laws with all their Authority could never have effected, without the help of Religion : the Laws would not be able to subdue the perverseness of Mens Wills, which are wild Beasts, and require a double Chain to keep them down. For this Reason 'tis said, That it is not a sufficient ground to make War upon a Neighbouring State, because they are of another Religion, let it be never so differing ; yet if they Worship'd nor Acknowledg'd any Deity at all, they may be Invaded as publick Enemies of Mankind, because they reject the only thing that can bind them to live well with one another. The consideration of Religion is so twisted with that of Government, that it is never to be separated ; and tho' the Foundations of it ought to be Eternal and Unchangeable, yet the Terms and Circumstances of Discipline, are to be suited to the several Climates and Constitutions, so that they may keep Men in a willing Acquiescence unto them, without discom-
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posing the World by nice Disputes, which can never be of equal moment with the publick Peace.

Our Religion here in *England* seems to be distinguish'd by a peculiar Effect of God Almighty's Goodness, in permitting it to be introduc'd or rather restor'd, by a more regular Method, than the Circumstances of most other reformed Churches would allow them to do, in relation to the Government: and the Dignity with which it has supported it self since, and the great Men our Church has produced, ought to recommend it to the esteem of all Protestants at least: Our *Trimmer* is very partial to it, for these Reasons, and many more; and desires that it may preserve its due Jurisdiction and Authority; so far is he from wishing it oppress'd, by the unreasonable and malicious Cavils of those who take pains to raise Objections against it.

The Questions will then be, how and by what Methods this Church shall best support it self (the present Circumstances consider'd) in relation to Dissenters of all sorts? I will first lay this for a ground, That as there can be no true Religion without Charity, so there can be no true humane Prudence without Bearing and Condescension. This Principle does not extend
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to oblige the Church always to yeild to those who are disposed to Contest with her, the expediency of doing it is to be considered and determined according to the occasion; and this leads me to lay open the thoughts of our *Trimmer*, in reference first, to the Protestants, and then to the Popish Recusants.

What has lately hapned among us, makes an Apology necessary for saying any thing, that looks like favour towards a sort of Men who have brought themselves under such a disadvantage.

The late Conspiracy hath such broad Symptoms of the disaffection of the whole Party, that upon the first reflections, while our thoughts are warm, it would almost persuade us to put them out of the protection of our good Nature, and to think that the Christian Indulgence, which our Compassion for other Mens Sufferings cannot easily deny, seems not only to be forfeited by the ill appearances that are against them, but even becomes a Crime when it is so misapplied; yet for all this, upon second and cooler thoughts, moderate Men will not be so ready to involve a whole Party in the guilt of a few, and to admit Inferences and Presumptions to be evidence in a Case, where the Sentence must be so heavy, as it ought

ought to be against all those who have a fixed resolution against the Government established: Besides, Men who act by a Principle grounded upon Moral Vertue, can never let it be clearly extinguished by the most repeated Provocations; if a right thing agreeable to Nature and good Sense takes root in the heart of a Man, that is impartial and unbiass'd, no outward Circumstances can ever destroy it; it's true the degrees of a Man's Zeal for the Prosecution of it may be differing; faults of other Men, the consideration of the publick, and the seasonable prudence by which wise Men will ever be directed, may give great Al-
lays; they may lessen, and for a time perhaps suppress the exercise of that, which in general Proposition may be reasonable: but still whatever is so, will invietably grow and spring up again, having a Foundation in Nature, which is never to be destroy'd.

Our *Trimmer* therefore endeavours, to separate the detestation of those, who had either a hand or a thought in the late Plot, from the Principle of Prudential, as well as Christian Charity towards Mankind, and for that reason would fain use the means of reclaiming such of the Dissenters as are not incurable, and even bearing to a degree those that are as far as may con-
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sist with the Publick Interest and Security : he is far from justifying an affected separation from the Communion of the Church; and even in those that mean well, and are mistaken, he looks upon it as a Disease that has seized upon their Minds, very troublesome as well as dangerous, by the Consequence it may produce. He does not go about to excuse their making it an indispensable Duty, to meet in numbers to say their Prayers, such Meetings may prove mischievous to the State at least; the Laws which are the best Judges, have determined that there is a danger in them: He has good nature enough to lament that the Perverseness of a Part, should have drawn Rigorous Laws upon the whole Body of the Dissenters; but when they are once made, no private Opinion must stand in Opposition to them: if they are in themselves reasonable, they are in that respect to be regarded, even without being enjoined; and if by the Change of Time and Circumstances, they should become less reasonable than when they were first made, even then they are to be obeyed too, because they are Laws till they are mended or repealed by the same Authority that enacted them.

He has too much deference to the Constitution of our Government, to wish for
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more Preogative Declarations in favour of scrupulous Men, or to dispence with Penal Laws in such manner, or to such an end, that suspecting Men might with some reason pretend, that so hated a thing as Persecution could never make way for it self with any hopes of Success, otherwise than by preparing the deluded World by a false prospect of Liberty and Indulgence. The inward Springs and Wheels whereby the Engine moved, are now so fully laid open and expos'd, that it is not supposable that such a baffled Experiment should ever be tryed again; the effect it had at the time, and the Spirit it raised, will not easily be forgotten; and it may be presum'd the remembrance of it, may secure us from any more attempts of that Nature for the future: We must no more break a Law to give Men ease, than we are to rattle an House with a devout Intention of giving the Plunder to the Poor; in this case, our Compassion would be as ill directed, as our Charity in the other.

In short, the Veneration due to the Laws is never to be thrown off, let the Pretences be never so specious: Yet with all this he cannot bring himself to think, that an extraordinary diligence to take the uttermost penalty of Laws upon the poor offending Neigh.

Neighbour, is of it self such an allsufficient Vertue, that without any thing else to recommend Men, it should Entitle them to all kind of Preferments and Rewards: he would not detract from the merits of those who execute the Laws, yet he cannot think such a piece of service as this, can entirely change the Man, and either make him a better Divine, or a more knowing Magistrate than he was before; especially if it be done with a partial and unequal hand in Reference to greater and more dangerous Offenders.

Our *Trimmer* would have those mistaken Men ready to throw themselves into the arms of the Church, and he would have those arms as ready to receive them that shall come to us: he would have no supercilious Look to fright those strayed Sheep from coming into the Fold again: no ill-natur'd Maxims of an eternal suspicion, or a belief that those who have once been in the wrong, can never be in the right again; but a visible preparation of Mind to receive with joy all the Proselytes that come amongst us, and much greater earnestness to reclaim than punish them: It is to be confessed, there is a great deal to forgive, a hard task enough for the Charity of a Church so provoked; but

but that must not cut of all hopes of being reconcil'd ; yet if there must be some anger left still, let it break out into a Christian Revenge, and by being kinder to the Children of Disobedience than they deserve, let the injur'd Church Triumph, by throwing Shame and Confusion of Face upon them : There should not always be Storms and Thunder, a clear Sky would sometimes make the Church look more like Heaven, and would do more towards the reclaiming those Wanderers, than a perpetual Terrour, which seemed to have no intermission; for there is in many, and particularly in *English Men*, a mistaken Pleasure, in resisting the dictates of rigorous Authority; a Stomach that riseth against a hard imposition, nay, in some, raise even a lust in suffering from a wrong point of Honour, which does not want the applause, from the greater part of Mankind, who have not learnt to distinguish; Constancy will be thought a Virtue even where it is a Mistake; and the ill judging World, will be apt to think that Opinion most right which produces the greatest number of those who are willing to suffer for it: All this is prevented, and falls to the ground, by using well-timed Indulgence; and the stubborn Adversary who values himself upon
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his Resistance whilst he is oppress'd, yeilds insensibly to kind Methods, when they are apply'd to him; and the same Man naturally melts into Conformity, who perhaps would never have been beaten into it. We may be taught, by the Compassion that attendeth the most Criminal Men when they are Condemned, that Faults are much more natural things than Punishments, and that even the most necessary acts of Severity do some kind of violence to our Nature, whose Indulgence will not be confined within the strait bounds of inexorable Justice; so that this should be an Argument for gentleness, besides, that it is the likeliest way to make these Men asham'd of their Separation, whilst the pressing them too hard, tends rather to make them proud of it.

Our *Trimmer* would have the Clergy supported in their Lawful Rights, and in all the Power and Dignity that belongs to them, and yet he thinks that possibly there may be in some of them a too great eagerness to extend the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; which tho' it may be well intended, yet the straining of it too high, has an appearance of Ambition that raises Men's Objections to it; and is far unlike the Apostolick Zeal, which was quite otherwise
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employ'd, that the World draws inferences from it, which do the Church no service.

He is troubled to see Men of all sides sick of a Calenture of a mistaken Devotion, and it seems to him, that the devout Fire of fervent Charity with which the Primitive Christians were inflam'd, is long since extinguish'd, and instead of it a devouring Fire of Anger and Persecution breaks out in the World: We wrangle now one with another about Religion till the Blood comes, whilst the Ten Commandments have no more Authority with us, than if they were so many obsolete Laws or Proclamations out of date; he thinks that a Nation will hardly be mended by Principles of Religion, where Morality is made a Heresie; and therefore as he believes Devotion misplaced when it gets into a Conventicle, he concludes that Loyalty is so too, when lodg'd in a Drunken Club; those Vertues deserve a better Seat of Empire, and they are degraded, when such Men undertake their Defence, as have too great need of an Apology themselves.

Our *Trimmer* wishes that some Knowledge may go along with the Zeal on the right side, and that those who are in possession of the Pulpit, would quote at least so often the Authority of the Scriptures as

they do that of the State; there are many who borrow too often Arguments from the Government, to use against their Adversaries, and neglect those that are more Proper, and would be more Powerful; a Divine grows less, and puts a diminution on his own Character, when he quoteth any Law but that of God Almighty, to get the better of those who contest with him; and it is a sign of a decay'd Constitution, when Nature with good Diet cannot expel noxious Humours without calling Foreign Drugs to her Assistance: So it looks like want of Health in a Church, when instead of depending upon the Power of that Truth which it holds, and the good Examples of them that teach it, to support it self, and to suppress Errors it should have a perpetual recourse to the secular Authority, and even upon the slightest occasions.

Our *Trimmer* has his Objections to the too busie Diligence, and to the overdoing of some of the dissenting Clergy; and he does as little approve of those of our Church, who wear God Almighty's Liveries, as some old Warders in the *Tower* do the King's, who do nothing in their place but receive their wages for it; he thinks that the Liberty of the late times gave Men so much Light, and diffused it so
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universally amongst the Pople, that they are not now to be dealt with, as they might have been in Ages of less Enquiry; and therefore tho' in some well chosen and dearly beloved Auditories, good resolute Nonsense back'd with Authority may prevail, yet generally Men are become so good Judges of what they hear, that the Clergy ought to be very wary how they go about to impose upon their Understandings, which are grown less humble than they were in former times, when the Men in black had made Learning such a Sin in the Laity, that for fear of offending, they made a Conscience of being able to read; but now the World is grown sawcy, and expects Reasons, and good ones too, before they give up their own Opinions to other Men's Dictates, tho' never so Magisterially deliver'd to them.

Our *Trimmer* is far from approving the Hypocrisie, which seems to be the reigning Vice amongst some of the Dissenting Clergy; he thinks it the most provoking Sin Men can be guilty of in Relation to Heaven, and yet (which may seem strange) that very Sin which shall destroy the Soul of the Man who preaches, may help to save those of the Company that hear him, and even those who are cheated by the false Ostentation of his strictness of life, may

by that Pattern be encouraged to the real Practice of those Christian Vertues which he does so deceitfully profess; so that the detestation of this fault may possibly be carry'd on too far by our own Orthodox Divines, if they think it cannot be enough express'd without bending the Stick another way; a dangerous Method, and a worse Extream for Men of that Character, who by going to the outmost line of Christian Liberty, will certainly encourage others to go beyond it: No man does less approve the ill-bred Methods of some of the Dissenters, in rebuking Authority, who behave themselves as if they thought ill Manners necessary to Salvation; yet he cannot but distinguish and desire a Mean between the Sawcyness of some of the *Scotch Apostles*, and the undecent Courtship of some of the Silken Divines, who, one would think, do practise to bow at the Altar, only to learn to make the better Legs at Court.

Our *Trimmer* approves the Principles of our Church, that Dominion is not founded in Grace, and that our Obedience is to be given to a Popish King in other things, at the same time that our Compliance with him in his Religion is to be deny'd; yet he cannot but think it a very extraordinary thing, if a Protestant Church should by a voluntary Electi-

Election, chuse a Papist for their Guardian, and receive Directions for supporting their Religion, from one who must believe it a Mortal Sin not to endeavour to destroy it; such a refined piece of Breeding would not seem to be very well plac'd in the Clergy, who will hardly find Precedents to justify such an extravagant piece of Courtship, and which is so unlike the Primitive Methods, which ought to be our Pattern; he hath no such unreasonable tenderness for any sorts of Men, as to expect their faults should not be impartially laid open as often as they give occasion for it; and yet he cannot but smile to see, that the same Man, who sets up all the Sails of his Rhetorick to fall upon Dissenters, when Popery is to be handled, he does in so gingerly, that he looks like an Ass mumbling of Thistles, so afraid he is of letting himself loose, where he may be in danger of letting his Duty get the better of his Discretion.

Our *Trimmer* is far from relishing the impertinent wandrings of those, who pour out long Prayers upon the Congregation, and all from their own Stock, which God knows, for the most part is a barren Soil, which produces weeds instead of Flowers, and by this means they expose Religion it self, rather than promote

Men's Devotions : On the other side, there may be too great Restraint put upon Men, whom God and Nature hath distinguished from their Fellow Labourers, by blessing them with a happier Talent, and by giving them not only good Sense, but a powerful Utterance too; has enabled them to gush out upon the attentive Auditory, with a mighty stream of devout and unaffected Eloquence; when a Man so qualified, endued with Learning too, and above all, adorned with a good Life, breaks out into a warm and well deliver'd Prayer before his Sermon, it has the appearance of a Divine Rapture, he raises and leads the Hearts of the Assembly in another manner, than the most Compos'd or best Studied Form of set Words can ever do, and the Pray-wees, who serve up all their Sermons with the same Garnishing, would look like so many Statues, or Men of Straw in the Pulpit, compar'd with those who speak with such a powerful Zeal, that men are tempted at the moment to believe Heaven it self has dictated their words to 'em.

Our *Trimmer* is not so unreasonably indulgent to the Dissenters, as to excuse the Irregularities of their Complaints, and to approve their threatening Stiles, which are
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so ill-suited to their Circumstances as well as their Duty ; he would have them to shew their Grief, and not their Anger to the Government, and by such a Submission to Authority, as becomes them, if they cannot acquiesce in what is imposed ; let them deserve a Legislative Remedy to their Sufferings, there being no other way to give them perfect Redress ; and either to seek it, or pretend to give it by any other Method, would not only be vain, but Criminal too in those that go about it ; yet with all this, there may in the mean time be a prudential Latitude left, as to the manner of preventing the Laws now in force against them : The Government is in some degree answerable for such an Administration of them, as may be free from the Censure of Impartial Judges ; and in order to that, it would be necessary that one of these methods be pursued, either to let loose the Laws to their utmost extent, without any Moderation or Restraint, in which at least the Equality of the Government would be without Objection, the Penalties being exacted, without Remission from the Dissenters of all kinds ; or if that will not be done (and indeed there is no Reason it should) there is a necessity of some Conivance to the Protestant Dissenters to execute

cute that which in Humanity must be allowed to the Papists, even without any leaning towards them, which must be supposed in those who are or shall be in the administration of Publick Business; and it will follow, that, according to our Circumstances, the distribution of such Connivance must be made in such a manner, that the greatest part of it may fall on the Protestant side, or else the Objections will be so strong, and the Inferences so clear, that the Friends, as well as the Enemies of the Crown, will be sure to take hold of them.

It will not be sufficient to say that the Papists may be conniv'd at, because they are good Subjects, and that the Protestant Dissenters must suffer because they are ill ones; these general Maxims will not convince discerning Men, neither will any late Instances make them forget what passed at other times in the World; both sides have had their Turns in being good and ill Subjects; and therefore 'tis easie to imagine what suspicions would arise in the present conjecture, if such a partial Argument as this should be impos'd upon us: the truth is, this Matter speaks so much of it self, that it is not only unnecessary, but it may be unmannerly to say any more of it.

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Our *Trimmer* therefore could wish, that since, notwithstanding the Laws which deny Churches to say Mass in, even not only the Exercise, but also the Ostentation of Popery is as well or better performed in the Chappels of so many Foreign Ministers, where the *English* openly resort in spite of Proclamations and Orders of Council, which are grown to be as harmless things to them, as the Popes Bulls, and Excommunications are to Hereticks who are out of his reach; I say, he could wish that by a seasonable as well as an equal piece of Justice, there might be so much consideration had of the Protestant Dissenters, as that there might be at some times, and at some places, a Veil thrown over an innocent and retired Conventicle, and that such an Indulgence might be practis'd with less prejudice to the Church, or diminution to the Laws, it might be done so as to look rather like a kind Omission to enquire more strictly, than an allowed Toleration of that which is against the Rule established.

Such a skilful hand as this, is very necessary in our Circumstances, and the Government by making no sort of Men entirely desperate, does not only secure it self from Villainous attempts, but lay such a Foundation for healing and uniting Laws, when
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ever a Parliament shall meet, that the Seeds of Differences and Animofities between the feveral contending fides may (Heaven confenting) be for ever destroyed.

The Trimmer's Opinion concerning the Papifts.

TO fpeak of Popery leads me into fuch a Sea of Matter, that it is not eafie to forbear launching into it, being invited by fuch a fruitful Theme, and by a variety never to be exhausted: But to confine it to the prefent Subject, I will only fay a fhort word of the Religion itfelf; of its Influences here at this time; and of our *Trimmer's* Opinion in Relation to our manner of living with them.

If a Man would fpeak Maliciously of this Religion, one may fay, it is like thofe Dif-eafes, where as long as one drop of the Infection remains, there is ftill danger of having the whole Mafs of Blood corrupted by it. In *Swedeland* there was an abfolute Cure, and nothing of Popery heard of, till Queen *Chriftina* (whether mov'd by Arguments of this or the other World, may not be good Minners to enquire)

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thought fit to change her Religion and Country, and to live at *Rome*, where she might find better Judges of her Virtues, and less ungentle Censures of those Princely Liberties, to which she was sometimes disposed, than she left at *Stockholme*; where the good Breeding is as much inferiour to that of *Rome* in general, as the Civility of the Religion. The Cardinals having rescued the Church from those Clownish Methods the Fishermen had first introduc'd, and mended that Pattern so effectually, that a Man of that Age, if he should now come into the World, would not possibly know it.

In *Denmark* the Reformation was entire; in some States of *Germany*, as well as *Geneva*, the Cure was universal; but in the rest of the World where the Protestant Religion took place, the Popish humour was too tough to be totally expell'd, and so it was in *England*; tho' the Change was made with all the advantage imaginable to the Reformation, it being Countenanc'd and introduc'd by Legal Authority, and by that means, might have been perhaps as perfect as in any other Place, if the short Reign of *Edward* the 6th, and the Succession of a Popish Queen had not given such advantage to that Religion, that it has subsisted ever since

since under all the hardships that have been put upon it; it has been a strong Compact Body, and made the more so by these Sufferings: It was not strong enough to prevail, but it was able, with the help of foreign support, to carry on an Interest which gave the Crown trouble, and to make a considerable (not to say dangerous) Figure in the Nation: So much as this could not have been done without some hopes, nor these hopes kept up without some reasonable grounds: In Queen *Elizabeth's* time, the *Spanish* Zeal for their Religion, and the Revenge for 88, gave warmth to the *Papists* here, and above all the Right of the Queen of *Scots* to succeed, was while she lived sufficient to give them a better prospect of their Affairs: In King *Jame's* time their hopes were supported by the Treaty of the *Spanish* Match; and his gentleness towards them, which they were ready to interpret more in their own Favour, than was either reasonable or became them; so little tenderness they have, even when it is most due, if the Interest of their Religion comes in competition with it.

As for the late King, tho' he gave the most glorious Evidence that ever Man did of his being a Protestant, yet, by the more than ordinary Influence, the Queen was
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thought to have over him, and it so happening that the greatest part of his Anger was directed against the *Puritans*, there was such an Advantage given to Men dispos'd to suspect, that they were ready to interpret it a leaning towards Popery, without which handle it was Morally impossible, that the ill-affected part of the Nation could ever have seduc'd the rest into a Rebellion.

That which help'd to confirm many well meaning Men in their Misapprehensions of the King, was the long and unusual intermission of Parliaments; so that every year that passed without one, made up a new Argument to increase their Suspicion, and made them presume that the Papists had a principal hand in keeping them off: This raised such heats in Men's Minds, to think that Men who were obnoxious to the Laws, instead of being punished, should have Credit enough to serve themselves, even at the price of destroying the Fundamental Constitution, that it broke out into a Flame, which before it could be quenched, had almost reduc'd the Nation to Ashes.

Amongst the miserable Effects of that unnatural War, none hath been more fatal to us, than the forcing our Princes to breath in another Air, and to receive the early impressions of a Foreign Education; the Barbarity

barity of the *English*, towards the King and the Royal Family, might very well tempt him to think the better of every thing he found abroad, and might naturally produce more gentleness, at least, towards a Religion by which he was hospitably received at the same time that he was thrown off and Persecuted by the Protestants (tho' his own Subjects) to aggravate the Offence. The Queen Mother (as generally Ladies do with Age) grew most devout and earnest in her Religion; and besides, the temporal Rewards of getting larger Subsidies from the *French* Clergy, she had Motives of another kind, to perswade her to shew her Zeal; and since by the *Roman* Dispensatory, a Soul converted to the Church is a Sovereign Remedy, and lays up a mighty stock of Merit, she was solicitous to secure her self in all Events, and therefore first set upon the Duke of *Glocester*, who depended so much upon her Good-will, that she might for that reason have been induc'd to believe the Conquest would not be difficult; but it so fell out, that he either from his own Constancy, or that he had those near him by whom he was otherwaies advis'd, chose rather to run away from her importunity, than by staying to bear the continual weight of it: It is beliv'd she had better Success
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with another of her Sons, who, if he was not quite brought off from our Religion, at least such beginnings were made, as made them very easie to be finish'd: his being of a generous and aspiring Nature; and in that respect, less patient in the drudgery of Arguing, might probably help to recommend a Church to him, that exempts the Laity from the vexation of enquiring; perhaps he might (tho' by mistake) look upon that Religion as more favourable to the enlarged Power of Kings, a consideration which might have its weight with a young Prince in his warm blood, and that was brought up in Arms.

I cannot hinder my self from a small digression, to consider with Admiration, that the old Lady of *Rome*, with all her wrinkles, should yet have the Charms, able to subdue great Princes; so far from Handsome, and yet so Imperious; so painted, and yet so pretending; after having abus'd, depos'd and murther'd so many of her Lovers, she still finds others glad and proud of their new Chains; a thing so strange to indifferent Judges, that those who will allow no other Miracles in the Church of *Rome*, must needs grant that this is one not to be contested; she sits in her Shop, and sells at dear Rates her Rattles and her Hobby-Horses.

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whilst the deluded World still continues to furnish her with Customers.

But whither am I carried by this Contemplation? It is high time to return to my Text, and to consider the wonderful manner of the King's coming home again, led by the hand of Heaven, and called by the Voice of his own People, who receiv'd him, if possible, with Joys equal to the Blessing of Peace and Union, which his Restauration brought along with it; by this there was an end put to the hopes some might have abroad, of making use of his less happy Circumstances, to throw him into Foreign Interests and Opinions, which had been wholly inconsistent with our Religion, our Laws, and all other things that are dear to us; yet for all this some of those Tinctures and Impressions might so far remain, as tho' they were very Innocent in him, yet they might have ill effects here, by softning the Animosity, which seems necessary to the Defender of the Protestant Faith, in opposition to such a powerful and irreconcilable an Enemy.

You may be sure, that among all the sorts of Men, who apply'd themselves to the King at his first coming home, for his Protection, the Papists were not the last, nor as they said would have flatter'd themselves,

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the least welcome ; having their past Sufferings, as well as their present Professions to recommend them ; and there was something that look'd like a particular Consideration of them, since it so happen'd, that the Indulgence promis'd to Dissenters at *Breda*, was carried on in such a manner, that the Papists were to divide with them, and tho' the Parliament, notwithstanding its Resignation to the Crown in all things, rejected with scorn and anger a Declaration framed for this purpose, yet the Birth and Steps of it gave such an alarm, that Men's suspicions once raised, were not easily laid asleep again.

To omit other things, the breach of the Triple League, and the *Dutch* War with its appurtenances, carried Jealousies to the highest pitch Imaginable, and fed the hopes of one Party, and the fears of the other to such a degree, that some Critical Revolutions were generally expected, when the ill success of that War, and the Sacrifice *France* thought fit to make of the Papists here, to their own Interest abroad, gave them another Check ; and the Act of enjoining the Test to all in Offices, was thought to be no ill Bargain to the Nation, tho' bought at the Price of 1200000 Pound, and the Money apply'd to continue the War against the

Dutch, than which nothing could be more unpopular or less approved. Notwithstanding the discouragements, Popery is a Plant that may be mowed down, but the Root will still remain, and in spite of the Laws, it will sprout up and grow again; especially if it should happen that there should be Men in Power, who in weeding it out of our Garden, will take care to cherish and keep it alive; and tho' the Law for excluding them from places of Trust was tolerably kept as to their outward Form, yet there were many Circumstances, which being improved by the quick-sighted Malice of ill affected Men, did help to keep up the World in their suspicions, and to blow up Jealousies to such a height both in and out of Parliament, that the remembrance of them is very unpleasant, and the example so extravagant, that it is to be hoped nothing in our Age like it will be re-attempted; but to come closer to the Case in question, in this Condition we stand with the Papists, what shall now be done according to our *Trimmer's* Opinion, in order to the better bearing this Grievance, since as I have said before, there is no hopes of being entirely free from it; Papists we must have among us, and if their Religion keep them from bringing honey to the Hive, let the Govern-

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ment try, at least by gentle means, to take away the Sting from them. The first Foundation to be laid is, that a distinct Consideration is to be had of the Popish Clergy, who have such an eternal Interest against all accomodation, that it is a hopeless thing to propose any thing to them less than all; their Stomachs have been set for it ever since the Reformation, they have pinned themselves to a Principal that admits no mean: They believe Protestants will be damn'd, and therefore by an extraordinary Effect of Christian Charity, they would destroy one half of *England*, that the other might be saved: Then for this World, they must be in possession for God Almighty, to receive his Rents for him, not to account till the Day of Judgment, which is a good kind of Tenure, and ye cannot well blame the good Men, that will stir up the Laity to run any hazard in order to the getting them restor'd. What is it to the Priest, if the deluded Zealot undoes himself in the Attempt? he sings Masses as jollily, and with as good a Voice at *Rome* or *St. Omers* as ever he did; is a single Man, and can have no wants but such as may be easily supply'd; yet that he may not seem altogether insensible, or ungrateful to those that are his Martyrs, he is ready to assure their

Executors, and if they please, will procure a Grant *sub Annulo Piscatoris*, that the good Man by being changed, has got a good Bargain, and sav'd the fingeing of some hundred of years, which he would else have had in Purgatory. There's no Cure for this Order of Men, no Expedient to be propos'd, so that tho' the utmost severity of the Laws against them, may in some sort be mitigated, yet no Treaty can be made with Men, who in this Case have left themselves no free Will, but are so muffled by Zeal, tyed by Vows, and kept up by such unchangeable Maxims of the Priesthood, that they are to be left as desperate Patients, and look'd upon as Men that will continue in an Eternal State of Hostility, till the Nation is entirely subdued to them. It is then only the Lay Papists that are capable of being treated with, and we are to examine of what temper they are, and what Arguments are the most likely to prevail upon them, and how far 'tis adviseable for the Government to be Indulgent to them; the Lay Papists generally keep their Religion, rather because they will not break Company with those of their Party, than out of any settled Zeal that hath Root in them; most of them do by the Mediation of the Priests Marry amongst

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one another, to keep up an Ignorant Position by hearing only one side; others by a mistake look upon it as the Escutcheons of the more Ancient Religion of the two; and as some Men of a good Pedigree, will despise meaner Men tho' never so much superiour to them by Nature, so these undervalue Reformation as an Upstart, and think there is more Honour in supporting an old Errour, than in imbracing what seems to them to be a new truth; the Laws have made them Men of Pleasure, by excluding them from Publick Business, and it happens well they are so, since they will the more easily be perswaded by Arguments of Ease and Conveniency to them; they have not put off the Man in general, nor the *Englishman* in particular, those who in the late storm against them went into other Countries, tho' they had all the Advantage that might recommend them to a good Reception, yet in a little time they chose to steal over again, and live here with hazard, rather than abroad with security. There is a Smell in our Native Earth, better than all the Perfumes in the East; there is something in a Mother, tho' never so Angry, that the Children will more naturally trust Her, than the Studied Civilities of Strangers, let them be never so Hospitable; therefore

'tis not adviseable nor agreeing with the Rules of Governing Prudence, to provoke Men by hardships to forget that Nature, which else is sure to be of our side.

When these Men by fair Usage are put again into their right Senses, they will have quite differing Reflections from those which Rigour and Persecution had raised in them : A Lay Papist will first consider his Abby-Lands, which notwithstanding whatever has or can be alledged, must sink considerably in the Value, the Moment that Popery prevails ; and it being a disputable Matter, whether Zeal might not in a little time get the better of the Law in that case ; a considering Man will admit that as an Argument to perswade him, to be content with things as they are, rather than run this or any other hazard by Change, in which perhaps he may have no other Advantage, than that his now humble Confessor may be rais'd to a Bishoprick, and from thence look down superciliously upon his Patron, or which is worse, run to take Possession for God Almighty of his Abby, in such a manner, as the usurping Landlord (as he will then be called) shall hardly be admitted to be so much as a Tenant to his own Lands, lest his Title should prejudice that of the Church, which will then be the Language ;

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he will think what disadvantage 'tis to be looked upon as a separate Creature, depending upon a Foreign Interest and Authority, and for that reason, expos'd to the Jealousie and Suspicion of his Country-men; he will reflect what Incumbrance it is to have his House & Pasture for hungry Priests to graze in, which have such a never-failing Influence upon the Foolish, which is the greatest part of every Man's Family, that a Man's Dominion, even over his own Children; is mangled and divided, if not totally undermin'd by them; then to be subject to what Arbitrary Taxes the Popish Convocation shall impose upon them for the carrying on the Common Interest of that Religion, under Penalty of being mark'd out for half Hereticks by the rest of the Party, To have no share in Business, no opportunity of shewing his own Value to the World; to live at the best an useless, and by others to be thought a dangerous Member of the Nation where he is born, is a burthen to a generous Mind, that cannot be taken off by all the Pleasure of a lazy unmanly life, or by the nauseous enjoyment of a dull Plenty, that produceth no good for the Mind, which will be considered in the first place by a Man that has a Soul; when he shall think, that if his Religion,
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after his wading through a Sea of Blood, come at last to prevail, it would infinitely lessen, if not entirely destroy the Glory, Riches, Strength and Liberty of his own Country. And what a Sacrifice is this to make to *Rome*, where they are wise enough to wonder there should be such Fools in the World, as to venture, struggle and contend, nay even die Martyrs for, that, which, should it succeed, would prove a Judgment instead of a Blessing to them; he will conclude that the advantages of throwing some of their Children back again to God Almighty, when they have too many of them, are not equal to the Inconveniencies they may either feel or fear, by continuing their separation from the Religion established.

Temporal things will have their weight in the World; and tho' Zeal may prevail for a time, and get the better in a Skirmish, yet the War ends generally on the side of Flesh and Blood, and will do so till Mankind is another thing than it is at present: And therefore a wise Papist in cold Blood, considering these and many other Circumstances, which 'twill be worth his pains to see if he can unmuffle himself from the Mask of Infallibility, will think it reasonable to set his Imprison'd Senses at Liberty, and

and that he has a right to see with his own Eyes, hear with his own Ears, and judge by his own Reason; the consequence of which might probably be, that weighing things in a right Scale, and seeing them in their true Colours, he would distinguish between the merit of suffering for a good Cause, and the foolish ostentation of drawing inconveniencies upon himself; and therefore will not be unwilling to be convinc'd, that our Protestant Creed may make him happy in the other World, and the easier in this. A few of such wise Profelytes would by their Example draw so many after them, that the Party would insensibly melt away, and in a little time, without any angry word, we should come to an Union, that all good Men would have Reason to rejoyce at: But we are not to presume upon these Conversions, without preparing Men for them by kind and reconciling Arguments; nothing is so against our Nature, as to believe those can be in the right who are too hard upon us; there is a deformity in every thing that doth us hurt, it will look scurvily in our Eye while the smart continues; and a Man must have an extraordinary Measure of Grace, to think well of a Religion that reduces him and his Family to Misery;

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in this respect our *Trimmer* would consent to the mitigation of such Laws as were made (as it's said King *Henry VIII.* got Queen *Elizabeth*) in a heat against *Rome*: It may be said, that even States as well as private Men are subject to Passion; a just Indignation of a villainous Attempt, produces at the same time such Remedies, as perhaps are not without some mixture of Revenge; and therefore tho' time cannot Repeal a Law, it may by a natural Effect soften the Execution of it: There is less danger to rouse a Lyon when at Rest, than to awake Laws that were intended to have their time of Sleeping; nay more than that, in some Cases, their Natural periods of Life; dying of themselves, without the Solemnity of being revok'd, any otherwise than by the common Consent of Mankind, who do cease to Execute, when the Reasons in great Measure fail, that first Created and Justify'd the Rigour of such unusual Penalties.

Our *Trimmer* is not eager to pick out some places in History against this or any other Party; quite contrary, is very solicitous to find out any thing that may be healing, and tend to an Agreement; but to prescribe the means of this Gentleness so as to make it effectual, must come from the

the only place that can furnish Remedies for this Cure, *viz.* a Parliament; in the mean time it is to be wished there may be such a mutual Calmness of Mind, as that the Protestants might not be so jealous, as still to smell the Match that was to blow up the King and both Houses in the Gunpowder Treason, or to start at every appearance of Popery, as if it were just taking Possession. On the other side, let not the Papists suffer themselves to be led by any hopes, tho' never so flattering, to a Confidence or Ostentation, which must provoke Men to be less kind to them; let them use Modesty on their sides, and the Protestants Indulgence on theirs; and by this means there will be an overlooking of all Venial Faults, a tacit Connivence at all things that do not carry Scandal with them; which would amount to a kind of Natural Dispensation with the severe Laws, since there would be no more Accusers to be found, when the occasions of Anger and Animosity are once remov'd; let the Papists in the mean time remember, that there is a respect due from all lesser Numbers to greater, a deference to be paid by an Opinion that is Exploded, to one that is Established, such a thought well digested, will have an influence upon their Behaviour, and produce

duce such a Temper, as must win the most eager Adversaries out of their Ill-Humour to them, and give them a Title to all the Favour that may be consistent with the Publick Peace and Security.

The Trimmer's Opinion in Relation to things abroad.

THE World is so compos'd, that it is hard, if not impossible for a Nation not to be a great deal involv'd in the Fate of their Neighbours; and tho' by the Felicity of our Situation, we are more Independant than any other People, yet we have in all Ages been concern'd for our own sakes in the Revolutions abroad. There was a time when *England* was the over-balancing Power of Christendom, and that either by Inheritance or Conquest, the better part of *France* receiv'd Laws from us; after that, we being reduc'd into our own Limits, *France* and *Spain* became the Rivals for the Universal Monarchy, and our third Power, tho' in it self less than either of the other, hapned to be Superiour to any of them, by that choice we had of throwing the Scales on that side to which we gave
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our Friendship. I do not know whether this Figure did not make us as great as our former Conquest, to be a perpetual Umpire of two great contending Powers, who gave us all their Courtship, and offer'd all their Incense at our Altar, whilst the Fate of either Prince seemed to depend upon the Oracles we delivered; for the King of *England* to sit on his Throne, as in the Supreme Court of Justice, to which the two great Monarchs appeal, pleading their Cause, and expecting their Sentence, declaring which side was in the right, or at least if we pleas'd which side should have the better of it, was a peace of Greatness which was peculiar to us, and no wonder if we endeavour to preserve it, as we did for a considerable time, it being our Safety, as well as Glory, to maintain it; but by a Fatality upon our Councils, or by the refin'd Policy of this latter Age, we have thought fit to use Industry to destroy this mighty Power, which we have so long enjoyed; and that equality between the two Monarchs, which we might for ever have preserved, has been chiefly broken by us, whose Interest it was above all others to maintain it: When one of them, like the overflowing of the Sea, had gained more upon the other than our Convenience, or
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indeed our safety would allow ; instead of mending the Banks, or making new ones, we our selves with our own hands helpt to cut them, to invite and make way for a farther Inundation. *France* and *Spain* have had their severall turns in making use of our Mistakes, and we have been formerly as deaf to the Instances of the then weaker part of the World, to help them against the house of *Austria*, as we can now be to the Earnestness of *Spain*, that we would assist them against the Power of *France*. *Gandomar* was as sawcy and as powerful too in King *James's* Court, as any *French* Ambassadour can have been at any time since, when Men talk as wrong then on the *Spanish* side, and made their Court by it, as well as any can have done since by talking as much for the *French*; so that from that time, instead of weighing in a wise Balance the power of either Crown, it looks as if we had learnt only to weigh the Pensions, and take the heaviest.

It would be tedious, as well as unwelcome, to recapitulate all our wrong steps, so that I will go no farther than the King's Restauration, at which time the Balance was on the side of *France*, and that by the means of *Cromwell*, who for a separate Interest of his own, had sacrificed that of the Nation, by joyning with the stronger side,

side, to suppress the Power of *Spain*, which he ought to have supported. Such a Method was natural enough to an Usurper, and shewed he was not the Lawful Father of the People, by his having so little care of them; and the Example coming from that hand, one would think should for that Reason, be less likely to be followed. But to go on, home comes the King, followed with Courtships from all Nations abroad, of which some did it not only to make them forget how familiarly they had used him when he was in other Circumstances, but to bespeak the Friendship of a Prince, who besides his other Greatness, was yet more considerable by being re-established by the love of his People. *France* had an Interest either to dispose us to so much good Will, or at least to put us into such a Condition, that we might give no Opposition to their Designs: And *Flanders* being a perpetual Object in their Eye, a lasting Beauty for which they have an incurable Passion, and not being kind enough to consent to them, they meditated to commit a Rape upon her, which they thought would not be easie to do, while *England* and *Holland* were agreed to rescue her, when ever they should hear her cry out for help to them; to this end they

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put in practice Seasonable and Artificial Whispers, to widen things between us, and the States. *Amboyna* and the Fishery must be talked of here; the Freedom of the Seas, and the Preservation of Trade must be insinuated there; and there being combustible matter on both sides, in a little time it took Fire, which gave those that kindled it, sufficient cause to smile and hug themselves, to see us both fall into the Net they had laid for us. And it is observable and of good example to us, if we will take it, That their Design being to set us together at Cuffs to weaken us, they kept themselves Lookers on, till our Victories began to break the Ballance; then the King of *France*, like a wise Prince, was resolved to support the beaten side, and would no more let the Power of the Sea, than we ought to suffer the Monarchy of *Europe*, to fall into one hand: In pursuance to this, he took part with the *Dutch*, and in a little time made himself Umpire of the Peace between us; some time after, upon pretence of his Queen's Title to part of *Flanders*, by Right of Devolution, he falls into it with a mighty Force, for which the *Spaniard* was so little prepared, that he made a very swift Progress, and had such a Torrent of undisputed Victory, that *England* and

and *Holland*, though the Wounds they had given one another were yet green; being struck with the apprehension of so near a danger to them, thought it necessary, for their own defence, to make up a sudden League, into which *Sweeden* was taken to interpose for a Peace between the two Crowns.

This had so good an effect, that *France* was stopt in its Career, and the Peace of *Aix le Chapelle* was a little after concluded. 'Twas a forced put; and tho' *France* wisely dissembled their inward dissatisfaction, yet from the very moment they resolved to untie the Triple knot, whatever it cost them; for his Christian Majesty, after his Conquering Meals, ever rises with a Stomach; and he liked the Pattern so well, that it gave him a longing desire to have a whole Piece. Amongst the other means used for the attaining this end, the sending over the Dutchess of *Orleans*, was not the least powerful; she was a very welcome Guest here, and her own Charms and Dexterity joyned with other Advantages, that might help her Perswasions, gave her such an Ascendant, that she should hardly fail of success. One of the Preliminaries of her Treaty though a trivial thing in it self, yet was considerable in the Consequence, as very small cir-

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cumstances often are in relation to the Government of the World. About this time a general Humour, in opposition to *France*, had made us throw off their Fashion, and put on Vests, that we might look more like a distinct People, and not be under the servility of imitation, which ever pays a greater deference to the Original, than is consistent with the Equality, all Independent Nations should pretend to; *France* did not like this small beginning of Ill-Humours, at least of Emulation, and wisely considering that it is a natural Introduction first to make the World their Apes, that they may be afterwards their Slaves. It was thought that one of the Instructions Madam brought along with her, was to laugh us out of these Vests, which she performed so effectually, that in a moment, like so many Footmen who had quitted their Master's Livery, we all took it again, and returned to our old Service; so that the very time of doing it gave a very critical Advantage to *France*, since it lookt like an Evidence of our returning to their Interest, as well as to their Fashion, and would give such a distrust of us to our new Allies, that it might facilitate the dissolution of the knot, which tied them so within their bounds, that they were very impatient, till they were freed from the restraint.

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But the Lady had a more extended Commission than this, and without doubt we double-laid the Foundation of a new strict Alliance, quite contrary to the other in which we had been so lately engaged. And of this there were such early appearances, that the World began to look upon us as falling into Apostacy from the common Interest. Notwithstanding all this *France* did not neglect at the same time to give good words to the *Dutch*, and even to feed them with hopes of supporting them against us, when on a sudden, that never to be forgotten Declaration of War against them comes out, only to vindicate his own Glory, and to revenge the Injuries done to his Brother in *England*; by which he became our Second in this Duel; so humble can this Prince be, when at the same time he does more Honour than we deserve, he lays a greater share of the blame upon our Shoulders, than did naturally belong to us; the particulars of that War, our part in it while we staid in it, and when we were out of breath, our leaving the *French* to make an end of it, are things too well known to make it necessary, and too unwelcome in themselves to incite me to repeat them; only the wisdom of *France* is in this to be observed, That when we had made a sepa-

rate Peace, which left them single to oppose the united Force of the Confederates, they were so far from being angry, that they would not shew so much as the least coldness, hoping to get as much by our Mediation for a Peace, as they would have expected from our Assistance in the War, our Circumstances at that time considered; this seasonable piece of Indulgence, in not reproaching us, but rather allowing those Necessities of State which we gave for our Excuse, was such an engaging Method, that it went a great way to keep us still in their Chains, when to the Eye of the World, we had absolutely broke loose from them: And what pass'd afterwards at *Nimeguen*, tho' the King's Neutrality gave him the outward Figure of a Mediator, it appear'd, that his Interposition was extremely suspected of Partiality by the Confederates, who upon that Ground, did both at, and before the Conclusion of that Treaty, treat his Ministers there with a great deal of neglect in this Peace, as well as that in the *Pyrenean* and *Aix le Chapelle*, the King of *France*, at the Moment of making it, had the thought of breaking it; for a very little time after he breached his Pretensions upon *Alost*, which were things that if they had been offered by a less formidable hand, would have been smiled at; but ill
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Arguments being seconded by good Armies, carry such a power with them, that naked sense is a very unequal Adversary. It was thought that these airy Claims were chiefly rais'd with the prospect of getting *Luxemburg* for the Equivolent; and this Opinion was confirmed by the blocking it up afterwards, pretending to the Country of *Chimay*, that it might be entirely furrounded by the French Dominions; and it was so pressed that it might have fallen in a little time, if the King of *France* had not sent Orders to his Troops to retire, and his Christian Generosity which was assign'd for the reason of it, made the World smile, since it is seen how differently his devout Zeal works in *Hungary*: that specious Reason was in many respects ill-tim'd, and *France* it self gave it so faintly, that at the very time it looked out of Countenance; the true ground of his Retiring, is wroth our observation; for at the instance of the Confederates, Offices were done, and Memorials given, but all ineffectual till the word *Parliament* was put into them; that powerful word had such an effect, that even at that distance it rais'd the Seige, which may convince us of what efficacy the King of *England's* words are, when he will give them their full weight, and threaten with his

Parliament ; it is then that he appears that great Figure we ought to represent him in our Minds, the Nation his Body, he the Head, and joyned with that Harmony, that every word he pronounces is the Word of a Kingdom: Such words, as appears by this Example, are as effectual as Fleets and Armies, because they can create them, and without this his Word sounds abroad like a faint Whisper, that is either not heard, or (which is worse) not minded, But tho' *France* had made this step of forced Compliance, it did not mean to leave off the pursuit of their pretensions ; and therefore immediately proposed the Arbitration to the King ; but it appeared, that notwithstanding his *Merit* towards the Confederates, in saving *Luxenburg*, the remembrances of what had passed before, had left such an ill taste in their *Mouths*, that they could not relish our being put into a Condition to dispose of their Interests, and therefore declined it by insisting upon a general Treaty, to which *France* has ever since continued to be averse ; our great earnestness also to persuade the Confederates to consent to it, was so unusual, and so suspicious a method, that it might naturally make them believe, that *France* spake to them by our *Mouth*, and for that Reason, if there has been

been no other, might hinder the accepting it; and so little care hath been taken to cure this, or other Jealousies the confederates may have entertain'd, that quite contrary, their *Ministers* here every day take fresh Alarms, from what they observe in small, as well as in greater Circumstances; and they being apt both to take and improve apprehensions of this kind, draw such Inferences from them, as make them entirely despair of us.

Thus we now stand, far from being Innocent Spectators of our Neighbours Ruine, and by a fatal mistake, forgetting what a certain Fore-runner it is to our own; and now it's time our *Trimmer* should tell something of his Opinion, upon this present State of things abroad, he first professes to have no Biass, either for or against *France*, and that his thoughts are wholly directed by the Interest of his own Country; he allows, and has read that *Spain* used the same Methods, when it was in its height, as *France* doth now, and therefore it is not Partiality that moves him; but the just fear which all reasonable Men must be possess'd with, of an overgrowing Power; *Ambition* is a devouring Beast, when it hath swallow'd one Province, instead of being cloyed, it has so much the greater
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Stomach to another, and being fed, becomes still the more hungry ; so that for the Confederates to expect a security from any thing but their own united Strength, is a most miserable fallacy ; and if they cannot resist the *Inchroachments* of *France* by their Arms, it is in vain for them to dream of any other means of preservation ; it would have the better grace, besides the saving so much Blood and Ruine, to give up all at once ; make a Present of themselves, to appease this haughty Monarch, rather than be whisper'd, flatter'd, or cozen'd out of their Liberty. Nothing is so soft as the first applications of a greater Prince, to engage a weaker, but that smiling Countenance is but a Vizard, it is not the true Face ; for as soon as their turn is serv'd, the Courtship flies to some other Prince or State, where the same part is to be acted over again, leaves the old mistaken Friend, to Neglect and Contempt, and like an insolent Lover to a cast off Mistress, Reproaches her with that Infamy, of which he himself was the Author : *Sweden*, *Bavaria*, *Palatine*, &c. may by their fresh Examples, teach other Princes what they are reasonably to expect, and what Snakes are hid under the Flowers the Court of *France* so liberally throws upon them, whilst they
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can be useful. The various Methods and deep Intrigues, with the differing Notes in several Countries, do not only give suspicion, but assurance that every thing is put in practice, by which universal Monarchy may be obtain'd. Who can reconcile the withdrawing of his Troops from *Luxenburg*, in consideration of the War in *Hungary*, which was not then declared, and presently after encouraging the *Turk* to take *Vienna*, and consequently to destroy the Empire? Or who can think that the Persecution of the Poor Protestants of *France*, will be accepted of God, as an Atonement for hazarding the loss of the whole Christian Faith? Can he be thought in earnest, when he seem'd to be afraid of the *Spaniards*, and for that reason must have *Luxenburg*; and that he cannot be safe from *Germany*, unless he is in possession of *Strasburg*? All Injustice and Violence must in it self be grievous, but the aggravations of supporting 'em by false Arguments, and insulting Reasons, has something in it yet more provoking than the Injuries themselves; and the World has ground enough to apprehend, from such a Method of arguing, that even their Senses are to be subdued as well as their Liberties. Then the variety of Arguments used by *France* in several Countries,

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is very observable: In *England* and *Denmark* nothing insisted on but the greatness and Authority of the Crown; on the other side, the great Men in *Poland* are commended, who differ in Opinion with the King, and they Argue like Friends to the Privilege of Dyet, against the separate Power of the Crown: In *Sweden* they are troubled that the King should have chang'd something there of late, by his single Authority, from the ancient and settled Authority and Constitutions: At *Ratisbone*, the most Christian Majesty taketh the Liberties of all the Electors, and free States, into his protection, and tells them the Emperour is a dangerous Man, an aspiring Hero, that would infallibly devour them, if he was not at hand to resist him on their behalf; but above all in *Holland*, he has the most obliging tenderness for the *Common-wealth*, and is in such disquiets, lest it should be invaded by the Prince of *Orange*, that they can do no less in gratitude, than undo themselves when he bids them, to show how sensible they are of his excessive good Nature; yet in spite of all these Contradictions, there are in the World such refin'd *States-men*, as will upon their Credit affirm the following Paradoxes to be real truth; first that *France* alone is sincere and keeps

keeps its Faith, and consequently that it is the only Friend we can rely upon; that the King of *France*, of all Men living, has the least mind to be a Conquerour; that he is a sleepy tame Creature, void of all Ambition, a poor kind of a Man, that has no farther thoughts than to be quiet; that he is charm'd by his Friendship to us, that it is impossible he should ever do us hurt, and therefore tho' *Flanders* was lost, it would not in the least concern us; that he would fain help the Crown of *England* to be absolute, which would be to take pains to put it into a Condition to oppose him, as it is, and must be our Interest, as long as he continues in such an overballacing Power and Greatness.

Such a Creed as this, if once receiv'd, might prepare our belief for greater things and as he that taught Men to eat a Dagger, began first with a Pen knife; so if we can be prevail'd with to digest the smaller Mistakes, we may at last make our Stomachs strong enough for that of Transubstantiation. Our *Trimmer* cannot easily be converted out of his senses by these State Sophisters, and yet he has no such peevish Obstinacy as to reject all correspondence with *France*, because we ought to be apprehensive of the too great power of it; he would not
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have the King's Friendship to the Confederates, extended to the involving him in any unreasonable or dangerous Engagements ; neither would he have him lay aside the consideration of his better establishment at home, out of his excessive Zeal to secure his Allies abroad ; but sure there might be a Mean between these two opposite Extreams, and it may be wished, that our Friendship with *France*, should at least be so bounded, that it may consist with the Humour as well as the Interest of *England*. There is no Woman but has the fears of contracting too near an intimacy with a much greater Beauty, because it exposes her too often to a Comparison that is not advantageous to her ; and sure it may become a Prince to be as jealous of his Dignity, as a Lady can be of her good Looks, and to be as much out of Countenance, to be thought an humble Companion to so much a greater Power ; to be always seen in an ill Light, to be so darkned by the brightness of a greater Star, is somewhat mortifying ; and when *England* might ride Admiral at the Head of the Confederates, to look like the Kitching-Yatch to the Grand *Louis*, is but a scurvy Figure for us to make in the Map of *Christendom* ; it would rise up in our *Trimmer's* stomach,
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if ever (which God forbid) the power of calling and intermitting Parliaments here, should be transferred to the Crown of *France*, and that all the opportunities of our own settlements at home should give way to their Projects abroad; and that our Interests should be so far sacrific'd to our Compliance, that all the Omnipotence of *France* can never make us full amends for it. In the mean time, he shrinks at the dismal prospect he can by no means drive away from his thoughts, that when *France* has gather'd all the fruit arising from our Mistakes, and that we can bear no more with them, they will cut down the Tree and throw it into the fire; for all this while, some Superfine States-Men, to comfort us, would fain parswade the World, that this or that accident may save us, and for all that, is or ought to be dear to us, would have us to rely wholly upon Chance, not considering that Fortune is Wisdom's Creature, and that God Almighty loves to be on the Wisest as well as the Strongest side; therefore this is such a miserable shift, such a shameful Evasion, that they would be laught to death for it, if the ruining Consequence of this Mistake did not more dispose Men to rage, and a detestation of it.

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Our *Trimmer* is far from Idolatary in other things, in one thing only he comes near it, his Country is in some degree his Idol ; he does not Worship the Sun, because 'tis not peculiar to us, it rambles about the World, and is less kind to us than others ; but for the Earth of *England*, tho' perhaps inferior to that of many places abroad, to him there is Divinity in it, and he would rather dye, than see a piece of *English* Glass trampled down by a Foreign Trespasser : He thinks there are a great many of his mind, for all plants are apt to taste of the Soyl in which they grow, and we that grow here, have a Root that produces in us a Stalk of *English* Juice, which is not to be changed by grafting or foreign infusion ; and I do not know whether any thing less will prevail, than the Modern Experiment, by which, the Blood of one Creature is transmitted into another ; according to which, before the *French* can be let into our Bodies, every drop of our own must be drawn out of them.

Our *Trimmer* cannot but lament, that by a Sacrifice too great for one Nation to another, we should be like a rich Mine, made useless only for want of being wrought, and that the Life and Vigour which should move us against our Enemies, is miserably
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apply'd to tear our own Bowels ; that being made by our happy situation, not only safer, but if we please greater too, than other Countries which far exceed us in extent ; that having Courage by Nature, Learning by Industry, and Riches by Trade, we should corrupt all these Advantages, so as to make them insignificant, and by a fatality which seems peculiar to us, misplace our active Rage one against another, whilst we are turn'd into Statues on that side where lies our greatest danger ; to be unconcern'd not only at our Neighbours Ruin but our own, and let our Island lie like a great Hulk in the Sea, without Rudder or Sail, all the Men cast away in her, or as if we were all Children in a great Cradle, and rockt asleep to a Foreign Tune.

I say, when our *Trimmer* representeth to his Mind, our Roses blasted and discolour'd, whilst the Lillies Triumph and grow Insolent, upon the Comparison ; when he considers our own once flourishing Lawrel, now wither'd and dying, and nothing left us but a remembrance of a better part in History than we shall make in the next Age ; which will be no more to us than an Escutcheon hung upon our Door when we are Dead ; when he foresees from hence, growing Infamy from abroad, Confusion

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at home, and all this without the possibility of a Cure, in respect of the voluntary fetters good Men put upon themselves by their Allegiance; without a good measure of preventing Grace, he would be tempted to go out of the World like a *Roman* Philosopher, rather than endure the burthen of Life under such a discouraging Prospect. But Mistakes, as all other things, have their Periods, and many times the nearest way to Cure, is not to oppose them, but stay till they are crusht with their own weight: For Nature will not allow any thing to continue long that is violent; violence is a wound, and as a wound, must be curable in a little time, or else 'tis mortal; but a Nation comes near to be Immortal, therefore the wound will one time or another be cur'd, tho perhaps by such rough Methods, if too long forborn, as may even make the best Remedies we can prepare, to be at the same time a Melancholy Contemplation to us; there is but one thing (God Almighty's Providence excepted) to support a Man from sinking under these afflicting thoughts, and that is the hopes we draw singly from the King himself, without the mixture of any other consideration.

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Tho' the Nation was lavish of their Kindness to him at his first coming, yet there remains still a stock of Warmth in Mens Hearts for him.

Besides, the good Influences of his happy Planet are not yet all spent, and tho the Stars of Men past their youth are generally declining, and have less Force, like the Eyes of decaying Beauties, yet by a Blessing peculiar to himself, we may yet hope to be saved by his Autumnal Fortune; He has something about him that will draw down a healing Miracle for his and our Deliverance; a Prince which seems fitted for such an offending Age, in which Men's Crimes have been so general, that the forgiving his People has been the destroying of them, whose Gentleness gives him a natural Dominion that hath no bounds, with such a noble mixture of Greatness and Condescension, an engaging Look, that disarms Men of their ill Humours, and their Resentments; something in him that wanteth a Name, and can be no more defined than it can be resisted; a Gift of Heaven, of its last finishing, where it will be peculiarly kind: the only Prince in the World that dares be familiar, or that has right to triumph over those Forms which were first invented to give awe to those who could not

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judge, and to hide Defects from those that could; a Prince that has exhausted himself by his Liberality, and endangered himself by his Mercy; who out-shines by his own Light and natural Virtues all the varnish of studied Acquisitions; his Faults are like Shades to a good Picture, or like Allay to Gold, to make it the more useful; he may have some, but for any Man to see them through so many reconciling Virtues, is a Sacrilegious piece of ill Nature, of which no generous Mind can be guilty; a Prince that deserves to be loved for his own sake, even without the help of a Comparison; our Love, our Duty, and our Danger, all joyn to cement our Obedience to him; in short, whatever he can do, it is no more possible for us to be angry with him, than with a Bank that secures us from the raging Sea, the kind Shade that hides us from the scorching Sun, the welcome Hand that reaches us a Reprieve, or with the Guardian Angel, that rescues our Souls from the devouring Jaws of wretched Eternity.

C O N.

CONCLUSION.

TO Conclude, our *Trimmer* is so fully satisfy'd of the Truth of these Principles, by which he is directed, in reference to the Publick, that he will neither be He-
ctor'd and Threaten'd, Laught, nor Drunk out of them; and instead of being converted by the Arguments of his Adversaries to their Opinions, he is very much confirmed in his own by them; he professes solemnly that were it in his Power to chuse, he would rather have his Ambition bounded by the Commands of a Great and Wise Master, than let it range with a popular License, tho' crown'd with Success; yet he cannot commit such a sin against the glorious thing call'd Liberty, nor let his Soul stoop so much below it self, as to be content without repining, to have his Reason wholly subdu'd, or the Priviledge of Acting like a sensible Creature, torn from him by the imperious Dictates of unlimited Authority, in what hand soever it happens to be placed. What is there in this that is so Criminal, as to deserve the Penalty of that most singular Apothegm, *A Trimmer is worse than a Rebel*? What do angry Men ail to rail so against

Moderation: do's it not look as if they were going to some very scurvy Extreme, that is too strong to be digested by the more considering part of Mankind? These Arbitrary Methods, besides the Injustice of them, are (God be thanked) very unskilful too, for they fright the Birds, by talking so loud, from coming into the Nets that are laid for them; and when Men agree to Rattle a House, they seldom give Warning, or blow a Trumpet; but there are some small Statesmen, who are so full charg'd with their own Expectations, that they cannot contain.

And kind Heaven by sending such a reasonable Curse upon their Undertakings, has made thier Ignorance an Antidote against their Malice; some of these cannot treat peaceably; yielding will not satisfy them, they will have Men by Storm; there are others, that must have Plots, to make their Service more necessary, and have an Interest to keep them alive, since they are to live upon them; and perswade the King to retrench his own Greatness, so as to shrink into the Head of a Parry, which is the betraying him into such an Unprincely mistake, and to such a wilful diminution of himself, that they are the last Enemies he ought to allow himself to forgive; such
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Men, if they could, would prevail with the Sun to shine only upon them and their Friends, and to leave all the rest of the World in the dark; this is a very unusual Monopoly, and may come within the Equity of the Law, which makes it Treason to Imprison the King; when such unfitting bounds are put to his Favour, and he confin'd to the narrow limits of a particular set of Men, that would inclose him; these Honest and only Loyal Gentlemen, if they may be allowed to bear Witnesses for themselves, make a King their Engine, and degrade him into a Property at the very time that their Flattery would make him believe they paid Divine Worship to him; besides these there is a flying Squadron on both sides, that are afraid the World should agree, small dabblers in Conjuring, that raise angry Apparitions to keep Men from being reconciled, like Wasps that fly up and down, buz and sting to keep Men unquiet; but these Insects are commonly short liv'd Creatures, and no doubt in a little time Mankind will be rid of them; they were Giants at least who fought once against Heaven, but for such Pigmies as these to contend against it, is such a provoking Folly, that the insolent bunglers ought to be laugh'd and hiss'd out of the World for it; they

should consider there is a Soul in that great Body of the People, which may for a time be drowsie and unactive, but when the Leviathan is rouz'd, it moves like an angry Creature, and will neither be convinc'd nor resisted; the People can never agree to shew their united Powers, till they are extremely tempted and provoked to it; so that to apply Cupping-Glasses to a great Beast naturally disposed to sleep, and to force the Tame thing whether it will or no to be Valiant, must be learnt out of some other Book than *Machiavil*, who would never have prescrib'd such a preposterous method. It is to be remembred, that if Princes have Law and Authority on their sides, the People on theirs may have Nature, which is a formidable Adversary; Duty, Justice, Religion, nay, even Humane Prudence too, bids the People suffer any thing rather than resist; but uncorrected Nature, where e're it feels the smart will run to the nearest Remedy: Mens Passions in this Case are to be considered as well as their Duty, let it be never so strongly enforced; for if their Passions are provoked, they being as much a part of us as our Limbs, they lead Men into a short way of Arguing, that admits no distinction, and from the foundation of Self-defence, they will draw Inferences, that will

will have miserable effects upon the quiet of a Government.

Our *Trimmer* therefore dreads a general discontent, because he thinks it differs from a Rebellion, only as a Spotted Fever does from the Plague, the same Species under a lower degree of Malignity; it works several ways; sometimes like a slow Poyson that has its Effects at a great distance from the time it was given, sometimes like dry Flax prepared to catch at the first Fire, or like Seed in the ground ready to sprout upon the first Shower; in every shape 'tis fatal, and our *Trimmer* thinks no pains or precaution can be so great as to prevent it.

In short, he thinks himself in the right, grounding his Opinion upon that Truth, which equally hates to be under the Oppressions of wrangling Sophistry of the one hand, or the short dictates of mistaken Authority on the other.

Our *Trimmer* adores the Goddess Truth, tho' in all Ages she has been scurvily used, as well as those that Worshipped her; 'tis of late become such a ruining Virtue, that Mankind seems to be agreed to commend and avoid it; yet the want of Practice which Repeals the other Laws, has no influence upon the Law of Truth, because it has root in Heaven, and an intrinsic value
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in it self, that can never be impaired; she shews her Greatness in this, that her Enemies, even when they are successful are ashamed to own it; nothing but Power full of Truth has the Prerogative of Triumphant, not only after Victories, but in spite of them, and to put Conquest her self out of Countenance; she may be kept under and suppress'd, but her Dignity still remains with her, even when she is in Chains; Falshood with all her Impudence, has not enough to speak ill of her before her Face; such Majesty she carries about her, that her most prosperous Enemies are fain to whisper their Treason; all the Power upon Earth can never extinguish her; she has liv'd in all Ages; and let the mistaken Zeal of prevailing Authority, Christen any opposition to it, with what Name they please, she makes it not only an ugly and unmannerly, but a dangerous thing to persist; she has lived very retired indeed, nay sometime so buried, that only some few of the discerning part of Mankind could have a glimpse of her; with all that, she has Eternity in her, she knows not how to die, and from the darkest Clouds that shade and cover her, she breaks from time to time with Triumph for her Friends, and Terror to her Enemies.

Our

Our *Trimmer* therefore inspired by this Divine Virtue, thinks fit to conclude with these assertions, That our Climate is a *Trimmer*, between that part of the World, where Men are Roasted, and the other where they are Frozen ; That our Church is a *Trimmer* between the Phrenzy of Platonick Visions, and the Lethargick Ignorance of Popish Dreams ; That our Laws are *Trimmers*, between the Excess of unbounded Power, and the Extravagance of Liberty not enough restrained ; That true Virtue has ever been thought a *Trimmer*, and to have its dwelling in the middle between the two Extreams ; That even God Almighty himself is divided between his two great Attributes, his Mercy and his Justice.

In such Company, our *Trimmer* is not ashamed of his Name, and willingly leaves to the bold Champions of either Extream, the honour of contending with no less Adversaries than Nature, Religion, Liberty, Prudence, Humanity and Common Sense.

T H E

THE
ANATOMY
OF AN
EQUIVALENT.

I. **T**HE World hath of late years never been without some extraordinary *Word* to furnish the Coffee Houses and fill the Pamphlets. Sometimes it is a *new* one invented, and sometimes an *old* one revived. They are usually fitted to some present purpose, with intentions as differing as the various designs several Parties may have, either to delude the People, or to expose their Adversaries: They are not of long continuance, but after they have passed a little while, and that they are grown nauseous by being so often repeated, they give place to something that is newer. Thus after *Whig*, *Tory*, and *Trimmer* have had their time, now they are dead and forgotten, being supplanted by the word **Equivalent**, which reigneth in their stead.

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The Birth of it is in short this : After many repeated Essays to dispose Men to the Repeal of Oaths and Tests, made for the security of the Protestant Religion, the general Aversion to comply in it was found to be so great, that it was thought advisable to try another manner of attempting it, and to see whether by putting the *same thing into another Mould*, and softning an *harsh Proposition* by a *plausible Term*, they might not have better success.

To this end, instead of an *absolute quitting* of these Laws, without any Condition; which was the *first* Proposal; now it is put into gentler Language, and runneth thus; *If you will take away the Oaths and Tests, you shall have as good a thing for them.* This put into the fashionable Word, is now called an *Equivalent*.

II. So much to the Word it self. I will now endeavour in short to examine and explain, in order to the having it fully understood.

First, What is the nature of a true *Equivalent*; and

In the next place, What things *are not* to be admitted under that denomination.

I shall treat these as general Propositions, and though I cannot undertake how far they may be *convincing*, I may safely do it
that

that they are *impartial*; of which there can be no greater evidence than that I make neither Inference nor Application, but leave that part entirely to the Reader, according as his own thoughts shall direct and dispose him.

III. I will first take notice, that this Word, by the application which hath been made of it in some modern instances, lieth under some *Disadvantage*, not to say some *Scandal*. It is transmitted hither from *France*; and if as in most other things that we take from them, we carry them beyond the Pattern, it should prove so in this, we should get into a more *partial* stile than the Principles of English Justice will I hope ever allow us to be guilty of.

The French King's *Equivalents* in *Flanders* are very *extraordinary Bargains*; his manner of proposing and obtaining them is very differing from the usual methods of *equal* dealing. In a later instance, *Denmark*, by the encouragement as well as by the example of *France*, hath propos'd things to the Duke of *Holstein*, which are called *Equivalents*, but that they are so, the World is not yet sufficiently convinced, and probably the Parties concerned do not think them to be so, and consequently do not appear to be at all disposed to accept them.

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Princes enjoyn and prescribe such things when they have *Strength* and *Power* to supply the want of *Arguments*; and according to Practice in these Cases, the weaker are never thought to have an *ill Bargain*, if they have *any thing* left them. So that the first Qualification of an *Equivalent*, must be, that the Appraisers be *indifferent*, else it is only a *Sound*, there can be nothing *real* in it: For, where the same Party that *proposeth* a Bargain, claimeth a Right to set the *Value*; or which is worse, hath *power* too to make it good, the other may be forced to *submit* to the Conditions, but he can by no means ever be perswaded to *treat* upon them.

IV. The next thing to be considered is, that to make an *Equivalent* in reality an equal thing in the Proposer, it must be a *better* thing than that which is required by him; *just as good* is subject to the hazard of not being *quite so good*: It is not easie to have such an even hand as to make the *Value* exactly equal: besides, according to the Maxim in Law; *Melior conditio possidentis*, the Offer is not fair, except the thing offered is better in value than the thing demanded. There must be allowance for removing what is fixed, and there must be something that may be a justification for
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changing. The value of things very often dependeth more upon other circumstances, than upon what is meerly intrinsick to them; therefore the calculation must be made upon that foot, perhaps in most cases; and particularly the *want* which one of the Parties may have of the thing he requireth, maketh it more valuable to *him* than it is in *it self*. If the party *proposing* doth not want the thing he would have in Exchange, his requiring it is *Impertinent*: If he doth, his want of it must go *into* the appraisement, and by consequence every Proposer of an *Equivalent* must offer a *better* thing, or else he must not take it unkindly to be refused, except the other party hath an *equal want* of the *same* thing, which is very improbable, since naturally he that wanteth most will speak first.

V. Another thing necessary to the making a fair Bargain is, that let the parties who treat, be never so unequal in themselves, yet as to the particular thing proposed, there must be an *exact equality*; as far as it relateth to the full Liberty of *taking* or *refusing*, *concurring* or *objecting*, without any consequence of Revenge, or so much as Dissatisfaction; for it is impossible to *treat* where it is an Affront to *differ*; in that case there is no mean between the two extreams,

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either an open Quarrel or an entire Submission; the way of *Bargaining* must be equal, else the Bargain *it self* cannot be so: For example, the Proposer is not only to use *equal* terms as to the *matter*, but *fair* ones in the *manner* too. There must be no intimations of *Anger* in case of *refusal*, much less any open *Threatning*. Such a Stile is so ill suited to the usual way of Treating, that it looketh more like a Breach of the Peace, than the making a Bargain. It would be yet more improper, and less agreeing with the nature of an *Equivalent*, if whilst two Men are chaffering about the *Price*, one of them should actually take the thing in question at his *own rate*, and afterwards desire to have his Possession *confirmed* by a formal Agreement; such a proceeding would not only *destroy* that *particular contract*, but make it impossible to have any *other*, with the Party that could be guilty of such a Practice.

VI. *Violence* preceding destroyeth all Contract, and even tho' the party that offereth it should have a right to the thing he so taketh, yet it is to be obtained by *legal* means, else it may be *forfeited* by his *irregularity* in the pursuit of it: The *Law* is such an Enemy to *Violence*, and so little to be reconciled to it, that in the Case of a *Rape*, the Punishment

nishment is not taken off, though the party injured afterwards *consenteth*. The Justice of the Law hath its eye upon the first act, and the *Maxim* of *Volenti non fit injuria*, doth not in this Case help the Offender, it being a plea *subsequent* to the Crime, which maketh it to be rejected as a thing wrong dated and out of time.

In taking away Goods or Money it is the same thing. The Party Robbed, by *giving* them afterwards to the taker, does not exempt him from the Punishment of the *Violence*: Quite contrary, the Man from whom they were taken is Punishable, if he doth not *Prosecute*. If the Case should be, that a Man thus taking away a thing without price, claimeth a *right* to take it, then whether it is well or ill founded is not the Question; but sure, the party from whom it is so taken, whilst he is treating to *Sell* or *Exchange* it, can never make a Bargain with so *Arbitrary* a Chapman, there being no room left after that to talk of the Value.

VII. To make an equal Bargain there must be a liberty of *differing*, not only in every thing that is *really essential*, but in every thing that is *thought so* by either party, and most especially by him who is in *possession* of the thing demanded: His *Opinion* must

be a *Rule* to him, and even his *Mistake* in the Value, though it may not convince the Man he hath to deal with, yet he will be justified for *not accepting* what is offered, till the *Mistake* is fairly rectified and overruled.

When a *Security* is desired to be *changed*, that side which *desireth* it must not pretend to *impose* upon the other, so as to dictate to them, and tell them without debate, that they are *safe* in what is proposed, since of that the Counsel on the *other side* must certainly be the most *competent Judges*. The *hand* it cometh *from* is a great Circumstance, either to invite or discourage in all matters of Contract; the Qualifications of the *Party offering* must suit with the *Proposition* it self, else let it be never so fair, there is ground for *Suspicion*.

VIII. When Men are of a temper, that they think they have wrong done them, if they have not always the better side of a *Bargain*: If they happen to be such as by experience have been found to have an *ill Memory* for their *Word*. If the Character they bear, doth not recommend their *Justice*, wherever their *Interest* is concern'd. In these cases, thinking Men will avoid dealing, not only to prevent *surprize*, but to cut off the occasions of *difficulty* or *dispute*.

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It is yet *more discouraging*, when there are, either a *precedent Practice*, or *standing Maxims of gross Partiality*, in assuming a privilege of *exemption* from the usual methods of *equal dealings*.

To illustrate this by an Instance. Suppose that in any case, the Church of *Rome* should have an *Interest* to promote a Bargain; let her *way of dealing* be a little examined, which will direct those with whom she treateth, how far they are to rely upon what *she proposeth* to them. We may begin with the *Quality* in the World, the least consisting with equal dealing, *viz.* An incurable *Partiality* to *her self*; which that it may arrive to its full perfection, is Crowned with *Infallibility*. At the first setting out, she maketh her self incapable of dealing upon terms of *Equality*, by the Power she claimeth of *binding* and *loosing*, which hath been so often apply'd to *Treaties*, as well as to *Sins*.

If the definition of *Justice* is to deal *equally*, she cannot be guilty of it without *betraying her Prerogative*, and according to her Principles, she giveth up the Superiority derived to her by *Apostolical Succession*, if she degradeth her self so as to be judged by the Rules of *common Right*, especially if the Bargain should be with *Hereticks*, who

in her Opinion have *forfeited* the claim they might otherwise have had to it.

IX. Besides, her Taste hath been so spoiled by *unreasonable Bargains*, that she can never bring down her Palate to any thing that is *fair* or *equal*. She hath not only judg'd it an *Equivalent*, but a *great Bargain* for the other side, to give them *Ab-solutions* and *Indulgence* for the *real Payment* of great Sums, for which she hath drawn Bills to have them repay'd with Interest in *Purgatory*.

This *Spiritual Bank* hath carried on such a Trade upon these *advantageous Terms*, that it can never submit to the small Profits an *ordinary Bargain* would produce.

The several Popes have in exchange for the *Peter-pence*, and all their other *Rents* and *Fines* out of *England*, sent *sanctified Roses*, *Reliques*, and other such Wonder-working Trifles. And by virtue of their Character of *Holy Fathers*, have used Princes like *Children*, by sending them such *Rattles* to play with, which they made them buy at extravagant Rates; besides which, they were to be thankful too, into the Bargain.

A Chip of the Cross, a piece of *St. Lawrence's Gridiron*, a Hair of *St. Peter*, have been thought *Equivalents*, for much more
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substantial things. The Popes being Masters of the Jewel-house, have set the *Rates* upon them, and they have passed; tho' the whole Shop would not take up the value of a Bodkin in *Lombardstreet* upon the credit of them.

They are *unconscionable Purchasers*, for they get all the Money from the *living* by praying for them when they are *dead*. And it is observable, that the Northern Part of Christendom, which best understandeth *Trade*, were the first that refused to make any more Bargains with them; so that it looketh as if the chief quarrel to the *Hereticks* was not as they were *ill Christians*, but as they were *unkind Merchants*, in so discourteously rejecting the Commodities of the growth of *Rome*.

To conclude this Head, There's no bartering with *Infallibility*, it being so much *above Equality*, that it cannot bear the Indignity of a *true Equivalent*.

X. In all Bargains there is a necessity of looking back, and reflecting how far a *present proposal* is reconcilable with a *former Practice*; For Example, if at any time a thing is offered, quite *differing* from the *Arguments* used by the proposer, and *inconsistent* with the *Maxims* held out by him at other times. Or in a publick

cate, if the same men who promote and press a thing with the *utmost violence*, do in a little time after with as *much violence* press the contrary, and profess a *detection* of the *very thing*, for which they had before employed all their *Interest* and *Authority*. Or if in the case of a Law *already* made, there should be a privilege claimed to *exempt* those from the Obligation of observing it, who yet should *afterwards* desire and *press* to have a *new Law* made in exchange for the *old* one, by which they would not be bound; and that they should propose a *security* by a thing of the *very same nature* as that which they did not allow to be any before. These *Incoherences* must naturally have the effect of raising *suspicion*, or rather, they are a *certain proof*, that in such circumstances it is *irrational* for men to expect an *effectual Equivalent*.

XI. If whatsoever is more than *Ordinary* is *Suspicious*, every thing that is *unnatural* is *more so*. It is not only *unnecessary* but *unnatural* too to *persuade* with *violence* what it is *folly* to *refuse*; to *push* Men with eagerness into a *good Bargain* for *themselves*, is a stile very much unsuitable to the nature of the thing. But it goeth further, and is yet more absurd, to grow angry with
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men for not receiving a proposal that is for their *advantage*; Men ought to be content with the Generosity of *offering* good Bargains, and should give their *compassion* to those who do *not understand them*: but by carrying their good nature so far as to be *Cholerick* in such a case, they would follow the Example of the *Church of Rome*, where the definition of *Charity* is very extraordinary. In her Language, the Writ *de Hæretico Comburendo* is a *Love-letter*, and *burning* men for differing with them in Opinion, howsoever miscalled *Cruelty*, is, as they understand it, the *perfection of flaming Charity*.

When *Anger* in these cases lasteth long, it is most probable that it is for our *own sakes*; Good Nature for *others* is one of those Diseases that is *cured by time*, and especially where it is *offered and rejected*; but for *our selves* it *never faileth*, and cannot be extinguished but with our life. It is fair if Men can believe that their Friends love them *next* to themselves; to love them *better* is too much; the Expression is so *unnatural* that it is *cloying*, and Men must have no *Sense*, who in this case have no *Suspicion*.

XII. Another Circumstance necessary to a fair Bargain is, That there must be *openness*

ness and *freedom* allowed, as the effect of that *Equality* which is the Foundation of Contracting. There must be full liberty of *objecting*, and making *doubts* and *scruples*: If they are such as can be *answered*, the party convinced is so much the more *confirmed* and *encouraged* to deal, instead of being hindred by them: but if instead of an *answer* to satisfy, there is nothing but *anger* for a reply, it is impossible not to conclude that there is never a good one to give; so that the objection *remaining* without being fully *confuted*, there is an absolute *bar* put to any further Treaty.

There can be no dealing where one side assumeth a privilege to *impose*, so as to make an *offer*, and not bear the *examination* of it, this is giving *judgment*, not making a *bargain*. Where it is called *unmannerly* to *object*, or *criminal* to *refuse*, the surest way is for men to stay where they are, rather than treat upon such disadvantage.

If it should happen to be in any Country where the Governing Power should allow men *Liberty of Conscience* in the choice of their *Religion*, it would be strange to deny them *liberty of speech* in making a *bargain*. Such a contradiction would be so discouraging, that they must be *unreasonably sanguine* who in that case can entertain the hopes of a fair *Equivalent*.

XIII. An

XIII. An *equal* Bargain must not be a *Mystery* nor a *Secret*, the Purchaser or Proposer is to tell *directly* and *plainly*, what it is he intendeth to give in Exchange for that which he requireth. It must be viewed and considered by the other Party, that he may judge of the value; for without *knowing* what it is, he cannot determine whether he shall *take* or *leave* it. An Assertion in *general*, that it shall be as *good* or a *better* thing, is not in this a *sufficient* excuse for the mistake of dealing upon such uncertain terms. In all things that are dark and not enough explained, *suspicion* naturally followeth: A *secret* generally implieth a *defect* or a *deceit*; and if a *false light* is an objection, *no light* at all is yet a greater. To pretend to give a *better* thing, and to refuse to *shew* it, is very near saying it is *not so good* a one; at least so it will be taken in common construction. A *Mystery* is yet a more discouraging thing to a *Protestant*; especially if the Proposition should come from a *Papist*; it being one of his great Objections to that Church, that there are so many of them *Invisible* and *Impossible*, which are so violently thrust upon their understandings, that they are overlaid with them. They think that *rational creatures* are to be convinced only by
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reason, and that *reason* must be *visible* and *freely exposed*; else they will think themselves used with *contempt* instead of *equality*, and will never allow such a *suspected secrecy* to be a fit preface to a *real Equivalent*.

XIV. In matters of Contract, not only the *present* value, but the *contingences* and *consequences*, as far as they can be fairly supposed, are to be considered. For Example, if there should be a *possibility*, that one of the Parties may be *ruined* by *accepting*, and the other only *disappointed* by his *refusing*; the consequences are so extremely *unequal*, that it is not imaginable a Man should take that for an *Equivalent*, which hath such a *fatal possibility* at the heels of it.

If it should happen in a *publick* case, that such a proposal should come from the *minor* part of an Assembly or Nation, to the *greater*; It is very just, that the *hazard* of such a *possibility* should more or less likely fall upon the lesser part, rather than upon the greater; for *whose sake* and advantage things are, and must be calculated in all *Publick Constitutions*. Suppose in any mixed Government, the *Chief Magistrate* should propose upon a condition, in the *Senate*, *Diet*, or other *Supreme Assembly*, either to Enact or Abrogate one or more Laws, by which, a *possibility* might be let in of *destroy-*

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ing their *Religion* and *Property*, which in other Language signifieth no less than *Soul* and *Body*; where could be the *Equivalent* in the case, not only for the *real loss*, but even for the *fear of losing* them? Men can fall no lower than to *lose* all, and if losing *all* destroyeth them, the *venturing all* must *fright* them.

In an Instance when Men are secure, that how far soever they may be over-run by *Violence*, yet they can never be undone by *Law*, except they give their assistance to make it possible, though it should neither be likely nor intended; still the *consequence* which may happen is too big for any present thing to make amends for it. Whilst the word *Possible* remaineth, it must *forbid* the Bargain. Whereever it falleth out therefore, that in an Example of a publick Nature, the Changing, Enacting, or Repealing a Law, may *naturally* tend to the *misplacing* the Legislative Power in the hands of those who have a *separate interest* from the Body of a People, there can be no treating, till it is demonstrably made out, that *such* a consequence shall be *absolutely impossible*; for if that shall be denied by those who make the proposal, if it is because they *cannot* do it, the motion at first was very *unfair*:

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If they *can* and *will not*, it would be yet less reasonable to expect that such *partial* dealers would ever give an *Equivalent* fit to be *accepted*.

XV. It is necessary in all Dealing to be *assured* in the first place, that the *party proposing* is in a condition to *make good* his Offer; that he is neither under any *former Obligations* or *pretended Claims*, which may render him incapable of performing it; else he is so far in the condition of a *Minor*, that whatsoever he disposeth by Sale or Exchange, may be afterwards resumed, and the Contract becometh void, being *originally defective*, for want of a sufficient legal Power in him that made it.

In the case of a strict Settlement, where the party is only *Tenant for Life*, there is no possibility of treating with one under such Fetters; no Purchase or Exchange of Lands or any thing else can be good, where there is such an *incapacity* of making out a Title; the Interest vested in him being so limited, that he can do little more than pronounce the *words* of a Contract, he can by no means perform the *effect* of it.

In more *publick* instances, the *impossibility* is yet more express; as suppose in any Kingdom, where the *People* have so much liberty left them, as that they may make
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Contracts with the *Crown*, there should be some *peculiar rights* claimed to be so *fixed* to the Royal Function, that no King for the time being could have power to *part* with them, being so *fundamentally* tied to the Office, that they can never be separated. Such *Rights* can upon no occasion be received in *exchange* for any thing the Crown may desire from the People: That can never be *taken* in payment, which cannot lawfully be *given*, so that if they should part with that which is required upon those terms, it must be a *gift*, it cannot be a *bargain*.

There is not in the whole *Dictionary* a more untractable word than *Inherent*, and less to be reconciled to the word *Equivalent*.

The party that will Contract in spite of such a Claim, is content to *take* what is *impossible* to *grant*, and if he complaineth of his disappointment, he neither *can have* Remedy, nor deserveth it.

If a Right so claimed happeneth to be of so *comprehensive* a nature, as that by a clear inference it may extend to *every thing else*, as well as to the *particular* matter in question, as often as the Supream Magistrate shall be so disposed, there can in that case be *no treating* with a Prerogative that swalloweth all the right the People can pretend to;
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and if they have no right to any thing of which they are possessed, it is a *Jest* and not a *Bargain*, to oblige any *Formality* in parting with it.

A Claim may be so stated, that by the *power and advantage of interpreting*, it shall have such a murdering eye, that if it looketh upon a Law, like a *Basilisk*, it shall strike it dead: Where is the possibility of Treating, where *such a Right is assumed*? Nay, let it be supposed, that such a Claim is *not well founded in Law*, and that upon a free disquisition it could *not be made out*; yet even in this case, none that are well advised will conclude a Bargain, till it is *fully stated and cleared*, or indeed, so much as *engage in a treaty*, till by way of preliminary all *possibility* shall be *remov'd* of any trouble or dispute.

XVI. There is a *collateral* circumstance in making a Contract, which yet deserveth to be considered, as much as any thing that belongeth to it; and that is the *Character and Figure* of the *parties* contracting, if they treat only by *themselves*; and if by *others*, the *Qualifications* of the *Instruments* they employ.

The *Proposer* especially, must not be so *low* as to want *credit*, nor so *raised* as to carry him *above* the reach of *ordinary dealing*.

ing. In the first, There is *Scandal*, in the other *Danger*. There is no Rule without some Exception, but generally speaking the *means* should be suited to the *end*; and since all Men who treat, pretend an *equal bargain*, it is desirable that there may be *equality* in the *persons* as well as in the *thing*.

The *manner* of doing things hath such an influence upon the matter, that Men may guess at the end by the instruments that are used to obtain it, who are a very *good direction* how far to rely upon, or suspect the *sincerity* of that which is proposed. An absurdity in the way of *carrying on* a Treaty, in any one circumstance, if it is very gross, is enough to persuade a thinking Man to break off, and take warning from such an ill appearance. Some things are so glaring, that it is impossible not to *see*, and consequently not to *suspect* them; as suppose in a private case, there should be a Treaty of *Marriage* between two Honourable Families, and the proposing side should think fit to send a *Woman* that had been *Carted*, to persuade the *young Lady* to an Approbation and Consent; the *unfitness* of the *Messenger* must naturally dispose the other Party to *Distrust* the *Message*, and to resist the Temptation of the *best Match* that could be offered, when conveyed

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veyed by *that hand*, and usher'd in by such a *discouraging preliminary*.

In a *publick* Instance, the Suspicion arising from *unfit Mediators*, still groweth more reasonable in proportion, as the *consequence* is much *greater* of being deceived. If a *Few* should be employed to Sollicit all sorts of *Christians* to *unite* and *agree*; the *contrariety* of his *profession*, would not allow Men to stay till they heard his Arguments; they would conclude from his *Religion*, that either the Man *himself* was *Mad*, or that he thought *those* to be *so*, whom he had the Impudence to endeavour to persuade.

Or suppose an *Adamite* should be very solicitous and active, in all places, and with all sorts of Persons, to settle the *Church of England* in particular, and a fair *Liberty of Conscience* for all Dissenters; though nothing in the World has more to be said for it than *Naked Truth*, yet if such a Man should run up and down without Cloaths, let his Arguments be never so good, or his Commission never so Authentick, his *Figure* would be such a *contradiction* to his *Business*, that how serious soever that might be in it self, *his interposition* would make a Jest of it.

Though it should not go so far as this, yet if Men have *contrarieties* in their way of
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living not to be reconciled; as if they should pretend infinite zeal for *Liberty*, and at that time be in great favour and employed by those who will not endure it.

If they are affectedly *singular*, and conform to the generality of the World in *no one* thing, but in playing the *knave*.

If *demonstration* is a familiar word with them, most especially where the thing is *impossible*.

If they quote *Authority* to supply their want of *sense*, and justify the value of their Arguments, not by *reason*, but by their being *paid* for them, (in which, by the way, those who pay them have probably a very *melancholy Equivalent*.) If they brandish a *Prince's Word* like a Sword in a Crowd, to make way for their own *impertinence*; and in dispute, as Criminals formerly fled to the *Statue* of the Prince for Sanctuary; if they should now, when baffled, creep under the Protection of a Kings *Name*, where out of Respect they are no farther to be Pursued.

In these cases, Though the Propositions should be really good, they will be corrupted by passing through such *Conduits*, and it would be a sufficient *Mistake* to enter into a *Treaty*; but it would be little less than *Madness* from such hands to expect an *Equivalent*.

XVII. Having touched upon these particulars as necessary in order to the stating the nature of an *Equal Bargain*, and the Circumstances belonging to it, let it now be examined in two or three Instances, what things are not to be admitted by way of Contract, to pass under the Name of an *Equivalent*.

First, Though it will be allowed, that in the general corruption of Mankind, which will not admit *Justice* alone to be a sufficient tie to make good a Contract, that a *Punishment* added for the breach of it, is a *fitting*, or rather a *necessary* Circumstance; yet it does not follow, that in *all* cases, a *great Penalty* upon the Party Offending is an *absolute* and an *entire Security*. It must be considered in every particular case, how far the *Circumstances* may rationally lead a Man to *rely more or less* upon it.

In a private Instance, the *Penalty* inflicted upon the breach of Contract must be first, such a one as the Party injured *can enforce*; and Secondly, such a one as he *will enforce*, when it is in his Power.

If the *Offending party* is in a capacity of *hindring* the other from bringing the Vengeance of the Law upon him. If he hath *Strength* or *privilege* sufficient to *over-rule* the
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the Letter of the Contract; in that Case, a *Penalty* is but a *Word*, there is no consequence belonging to it. Secondly, The *forfeiture* or *punishment* must be such as the Man aggrieved will *take*; for Example, if upon a Bargain, one of the Parties shall stipulate to subject himself, in case of his *failure* to have his *Ears cut*, or his *Nose slit* by the other, with *security* given, that he shall not be prosecuted for *executing* this part of the Agreement; the *Penalty* is no doubt *heavy enough* to discourage a Man from breaking his Contract; but on the other side it is of *such a kind*, that the other, how much soever he may be provoked, will not in cold Blood care to inflict it. Such an extravagant Clause would seem to be made only for *shew* and *sound*, and no Man would think himself safer by a thing which one way or other is sure to prove *ineffectual*.

In a *publick* Case, Suppose in a Government so constituted that a *Law* may be made in the nature of a *Bargain*, it is in *it self* no more than a *dead letter*, the *life* is given to it by the *execution* of what it containeth; so that let it in it self be never so perfect, it *dependeth* upon those who are intrusted with seeing it *observed*.

If it is in any Country, where the *chief Magistrate* chuseth the *Judges*, and the *Judges* interpret the *Laws*; a *Penalty* in any one particular *Law* can have no effect but what is *precarious*. It may have a *loud voice* to threaten, but it has not an *hand* to give a blow; for as long as the *Governing Power* is in Possession of this *Prerogative*, let who will chuse the *Meat*, if they chuse the *Cooks*, it is they that will give the *taste* to it. So that it is clear that the *rigour* of a *Penalty* will not in all cases *fix* a *Bargain*, neither is it universally a true Position, that the increase of *punishment* for the breach of a *new Law*, is an *Equivalent* for the consent to part with the *old* one.

XVIII. In most *Bargains* there is a reference to the *time to come*, which is therefore to be considered as well as that which cometh within the compass of the *present valuation*.

Where the *party Contracting*, hath not a *full power* to dispose what belongeth to him or them in *Reversion*, who shall succeed after him in his *Right*; he cannot make any part of what is so *limited* to be the *condition* of the *Contract*. Further, he cannot enjoin the *Heir* or *Successor* to forbear the Exercise of any *Right* that is *inherent* to him, as he is a *Man*: Neither can he

he *restrain* him without his own consent, from doing any act which in it self is *lawful*, and liable to *no objection*. For Example, A *Father* cannot stipulate with any other Man, that in consideration of such a thing done, or to be done, his *Son* shall *never Marry*; because Marriage is an Institution *Established* by the Laws of God and Man, and therefore no body can be so restrained by any Power from doing *such* an Act, when he thinketh fit, being *warranted* by an Authority that is not to be Controuled.

XIX. Now as there are *Rights inherent* in Mens Persons in their *single Capacities*, there are *Rights* as much *fixed* to the *Body Politick*, which is a Creature that never dieth. For Instance, There can be no Government without a *Supreme Power*; that Power is not always in the *same* hands, it is in *different* Shapes and Dresses, but still where-ever it is lodged, it must be *unlimited*: It hath a Jurisdiction over every thing *else*, but it cannot have it above *it self*. *Supreme Power* can no more be *limited* than *Infinity* can be *measured*; because it ceaseth to be the thing; its very being is dissolv'd, when any Bounds can be put to it.

Where this Supreme Power is *mixed*, or *divided*, the *shape* only *differeth*, the *Argument* is still the *same*.

The present State of *Venice* cannot restrain those who succeed them in the same Power, from having an entire and unlimited Sovereignty; they may indeed make *present Laws*, which shall retrench their *present Power*, if they are so disposed; and those *Laws*, if not *Repealed* by the *same Authority* that Enacted them, are to be *Observed* by the Succeeding Senate till they think fit to Abrogate them, and no longer; for if the Supreme Power shall still reside in the Senate, perhaps composed of *other Men*, or of *other Minds* (which will be sufficient) the necessary consequence is, that *one* Senate must have as much right to *alter* such a Law, as *another* could have to *make* it.

XX. Suppose the *Supreme Power* in any State should make a *Law*, to enjoin all subsequent Lawmakers to take an *Oath* never to alter it, it would produce these following Absurdities.

First, All *Supreme Power* being instituted to promote the *safety* and *benefit*, and to prevent the *prejudice* and *danger* which may fall upon those who live under the *protection* of it; the *consequence* of such an *Oath* would be, that all Men who are so trusted shall take God to Witness, that such a Law once made, being judged *at the time*
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to be *advantageous* for the Publick, though *afterwards* by the vicissitude of times, or the variety of Accidents or Interests, it should plainly appear to them to be *Destructive*, they will suffer it to have its course, and will never Repeal it.

Secondly, If there could in any Nation be found a *Set of Men*, who having a *part* in the *Supreme Legislative Power*, should as much as in them lieth, betray their Country by such a Criminal Engagement, so directly *opposite* to the *nature* of their *Power*, and to the *Trust* reposed in them. If these Men have their Power only for *Life*, when they are dead such an Oath can operate *no further*; and tho that would be *too long* a Lease for the Life of such a *Monster* as an Oath *so Composed*, yet it must then certainly give up the Ghost. It could bind none but the first makers of it, *another* Generation would never be ty'd up by it.

Thirdly, in those Countries where the *Supreme Assemblies* are not constant *standing* Courts, but called together upon *occasions*, and Composed of such as the People chuse for *that time* only, with a Trust and Character that remaineth no longer with them than till that Assembly is *regularly dissolved*; such an Oath taken by the Members

bers of a Senate, Diet, or other Assembly so chosen, can have very little effect, because at the next meeting there may be quite *another Set of Men*, who will be under *no Obligation* of that kind. The Eternity intended to that Law by those that made it, will be cut off by *new Men* who shall succeed them in their Power, if they have a *differing Taste*, or another *Interest*.

XXI. To put it yet farther, Suppose a Clause in such a Law, that it shall be *Criminal* in the last degree for any Man chosen in a subsequent Assembly, to *propose* the *Repealing* of it; and since nothing can be *Enacted* which is not first *Proposed*; by this means it seemeth as if a Law might be Created which should *never Die*. But let this be Examined.

First, Such a Clause would be so *Destructive* to the *Being* of such a Constitution, as that it would be as reasonable to say, that a King had Right to *give* or *sell* his Kingdom to a *Foreign Prince*, as that any number of Men who are *entrusted* with the Supreme Power, or any part of it, should have a right to *impose* such Shackles upon the Liberty of those who are to *succeed* them in the *same Trust*. The ground of that *Trust* is, that every Man who is chosen into such an Assembly, is to do all that
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in him lieth for the *good* of those who *chose* him: The *English* of such a Clause would be, that he is not to do his best for those that chose him, because, though he should be *convinc'd* that it might be very *Fatal* to continue that *Law*, and therefore very *necessary* to *Repeal* it, yet he must not *Repeal* it, because it is made a *Crime*, and attended with a *Penalty*.

But secondly, to shew the *Emptiness* as well as *Injustice* of such a Clause, it is clear that although such an Invasion of Right should be imposed, it will never be obeyed: There will only be *Deformity* in the *Monster*, it will neither *sting* nor *bite*. Such *Lawgivers* would only have the Honour of attempting a *contradiction*, which can never have any success; for as such a *Law* in it self would be a *Madness*, so the *Penalty* would be a *Jest*; which may be thus made out.

XXII. A Law that carrieth in it self *Reason* enough to *support* it, is so far from wanting the *protection* of such a Clause, or from *needing* to take such an *extraordinary receipt* for a long Life, that the *admitting* it must certainly be the *likeliest* and the *shortest* way to *destroy* it; such a Clause in a Law must imply an opinion that the *greatest* part of Mankind is against it, since it is impossible

possible such an Exorbitance should be done for its *own sake* ; the end of it must be to *force* Men by a *Penalty*, to that which they could *not* be *perswaded* to, whilst their Reason is left at Liberty. This Position being granted, which I think can hardly be denied, put the case that a Law should be made with this *imaginary* Clause of *Immortality*, after which another Assembly is chosen, and if the Majority of the Electors shall be *against* this Law, the greater part of the *Elected* must be *so* too, if the choice is fair and regular ; which must be presumed, since the supposition of the contrary is not to come within this Argument. When these Men shall meet, the *Majority* will be visible beforehand of those who are *against* such a Law, so that there will be no *hazard* to any single Man in proposing the *Repeal* of it, when he cannot be *punished* but by the *Majority* ; and he hath such a kind of assurance as cometh near a demonstration, that the *greater Number* will be of his Mind, and consequently, that for their own sakes they will *secure* him from any danger.

For these Reasons, where-ever in order to the making a Bargain, a Proposition is advanced to make a *new Law*, which is to tie up those who neither *can* nor *will* be *bound* by it, it may be a good *Jest*, but it will never be a good *Equivalent*. XXIII.

XXIII. In the last place, let it be examined how far a *Promise* ought to be taken for a *Security* in a Bargain.

There is great variety of Methods for the *Security* of those that deal, according to their *Dispositions* and *Interests*; some are *binding*, others inducing Circumstances, and are to be so distinguished.

First, *Ready Payment* is without exception, so of that there can be no dispute; in default of that, the *good Opinion* Men may have of one another is a great ingredient to supply the want of *immediate* Performances. Where the Trust is grounded upon *Inclination* only, the Generosity is not always *return'd*; but where it springeth from a *long Experience*, it is a better foundation, and yet that is not always *secure*. In ordinary dealing, *one promise* may be an *Equivalent* to another, but it is not so for a thing *actually* granted or conveyed; especially if the thing required in exchange for it, is of great *value*, either in *it self* or in its *consequences*. A *bare Promise* as a *single Security* in such a case, is not an *equal* proposal; if it is offered by way of *addition*, it generally giveth cause to doubt the Title is crazy, where so *slender* a thing is brought in to be a *supplement*.

XXIV. The *Earnest* of making good a Promise, must be such a behaviour *preceeding*, as may encourage the party to whom it is made to depend upon it: Where instead of that, there hath been *want of Kindness*, and which is worse, an *Invasion* of *Right*, a Promise hath no perswading force; and till the *Objection* to such a Proceeding is *forgotten*, (which can only be the work of time) and the skin is a little grown over the tender part, the wound must not be touch'd. There must be some *Intermission* at least to abate the smart of *unkind usage*, or else a Promise in the Eye of the Party injured is so far from *strengthening* a Security, that it raiseth more *doubts*, and giveth more justifiable cause to *suspect* it.

A *Word* is not like a Bone, that being broken and well set again, is said to be sometimes stronger in that very part: It is far from being so in a *Word* given and *not made good*. Every single Act either *weakneth* or *improveth* our Credit with other Men; and as an habit of being *just* to our Word will *confirm*, so an habit of too freely *dispensing* with it must necessarily *destroy*. A *Promise* hath its effect to perswade a Man to lay some weight upon it, where the *Promiser* hath not only the *power*, but may reasonably be supposed to have

have the *will* of performing it; and further, that there be no *visible interest* of the party promising, to excuse himself from it, or to evade it.

All Obligations are *comparative*, and where they seem to be opposite, or between the greater and the lesser, which of them ought to have precedence in all respects, every Man is apt to be his *own Judge*.

XXV. If it should fall out that the *Promiser* with full *intent* at the *time* to perform, might by the interposition of *new Arguments*, or *differing Advice* think himself oblig'd to turn the matter of Conscience on the other side, and should look upon it to be much a *greater fault* to *keep* his word than to break it; such a Belief will *untie* the *strictest Promise* that can be made; and though the Party thus absolving himself, should do it without the mixture or temptation of *private Interest*; being moved to it merely by his *Conscience*, as then informed; yet how far soever that might diminish the *Fault* in him, it would in no degree lessen the *inconveniences* to the party who is *disappointed*, by the breach of an Engagement upon which he relied.

XXVI. A *Promise* is to be understood in the plain and natural sense of the words, and to be sure not in his who made it, if it
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was given as part of a Bargain. That would be like giving a Man power to *raise* the value of his *Money* in the payment of his *Debt*, by which, tho' he paid but half or less, he might pretend according to the letter, to have made good the Contract.

The *power* of *Interpreting* a Promise, entirely taketh away the *virtue* of it. A Merchant who should once assume that privilege, would save himself the trouble of making any more Bargains.

It is still worse, if this *Jurisdiction* over a Man's *Promise*, should be *lodg'd* in hands that have Power to support such an *extraordinary Claim*; and if in other cases, forbearing to deal upon those terms is *advisable*, in this it becometh absolutely *necessary*.

XXVII. There must in all respects be a full liberty to *claim* a Promise, to make it reasonable to *take* it in any part of payment; else it would be like agreeing for a *Rent*, and at the same time making it *criminal* to *demand* it.

A *Superiority* of *Dignity* or *Power* in the party promising, maketh it a more *tender* thing for the other Party to Treat upon that Security. The first maketh it a *nice* thing to *claim*, the latter maketh it a *difficult* thing to *obtain*.

In some cases, a *Promise* is in the nature of a *Covenant*, and then between *equal* parties

ries the breach of it will bear a *Suit* ; but where the *greatness* of the Promiser is very much raised above the level of *equality*, there is no Forfeiture to be taken. It is so far from the Party grieved his being able to *sue or recover Damages*, that he will not be allowed to *explain or expostulate*, and instead of his being *relieved* against the breach of Promise, he will run the hazard of being *punished* for breach of good Manners. Such a Difficulty is putting all or part of the Payment in the Fire, where Men must burn their Fingers before they can come at it.

That cannot properly be called *good payment*, which the Party to whom it is due may not receive with *ease and safety*. It was a King's Brother of *England* who refused to lend the Pope Money, for this reason, *That he would never take the Bond of one, upon whom he could not Distrain.*

The Argument is still *stronger* against the Validity of a Promise, when the Contract is made between a *Prince* and a *Subject*. The very offering a King's Word in Mortgage is rather a *threatning* in case of refusal, than an *inducing* Argument to accept it ; it is *unfair* at *first*, and by that giveth greater cause to be cautious, especially if a thing of that *value and dignity* as a King's Word
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ought to be, should be put into the hands of *State-Brokers* to strike up a Bargain with it.

XXVIII. When God Almighty maketh Covenants with Mankind, *His Promise* is a *sufficient Security*, notwithstanding his *Superiority* and his *Power*; because First, he can neither *Err* nor do *Injustice*. It is the only Exception to his Omnipotence, that by the Perfection of his *Being* he is incapacitated to do *Wrong*. Secondly, at the *instant* of his *Promise*, by the extent of his *Foresight*, which cannot fail, there is no room left for the possibility of any thing to *intervene*, which might *change* his mind. Lastly, he is above the receiving either *Benefit* or *Inconvenience*, and therefore can have no *Interest* or *Temptation* to vary from his Word, when once he hath granted it.

Now though Princes are God's Vicegerents, yet their Commission not being so large, as that *these Qualifications* are devolved to them, it is quite another case, and since the offering a Security implieth it to be *examined* by the Party to whom it is proposed, it must not be taken ill that Objections are made to it, even though the Prince himself should be the *immediate Proposer*.

Let

Let a familiar Case be put; Suppose a Prince, tempted by a Passion too strong for him to resist, should descend so as to promise Marriage to one of his Subjects, and as Men are naturally in great haste upon such occasions, should press to take Possession before the *necessary Forms* could be complied with; would the poor Lady's *Scruples* be called *Criminal*, for not taking the Security of the Royal Word? Or would her *Alligiance* be tainted by her *resisting* the Sacred Person of her Sovereign, because he was impatient of delay? *Courtesie* in this case might perswade her to *accept* it, if she was so disposed; but sure the *just exercise* of Power can never *claim* it.

XXIX. There is one Case where it is more particularly a *Duty* to use very *great caution* in accepting the security of a Promise, and that is, when Men are *authorized and trusted* by others to act for them. This putteth them under much *greater restraints* than those who are at liberty to treat for *themselves*. It is *lawful*, though it is not *prudent* for any man to make an *ill Bargain* for *himself*, but it is neither the one nor the other, where the party contracting treateth on behalf of *another*, by whom he is *entrusted*. Men who will unwarily accept an *ill security*, if it is for *themselves*,

forfeit their own Discretion, and undergo the Penalty, but they are not Responsible to any body else. They lie under the Mor-tification and the loss of committing the Error, by which, though they may expose their *Judgment* to some *Censure*, yet their *Morality* suffers no *Reproach* by it.

But those who are *deputed* by *others* to treat for them, upon terms of *best advantage*, though the *Confidence* placed in them should prevent the putting any *limits* to their Power in their Commission, yet the *Condition implied* if not *expressed*, is, that the Persons so Trusted, shall neither make an *ill Bargain*, nor accept a *slight Security*.

The Obligation is yet more *binding* when the Trust is of a *Publick* Nature. The aggravation of disappointing a *Body* of Men that *rely* upon them, carrieth the Fault as *high* as it can go, and perhaps no Crime of any kind can outdo such a *deliberate breach* of *Trust*, or would more justly make Men *forfeit* the Protection of *Human Society*.

XXXI. I will add one thing more upon this Head, which is, that it is not *always* a *true Proposition*, That 'tis safe to rely upon a Promise, if at the *time* of making it, it is the *Interest* of the *Promiser* to make it good. This, though many times it is a
good

good *Inducement*, yet it hath these Exceptions to it. First, if the Proposer hath at *other* times gone plainly *against* his *visible Interest*, the Argument will turn the other way, and his *former Mistakes* are so many *Warnings* to others, not to come within the danger of any more: let the *Inducements* to those Mistakes be never so *great* and *generous*, that does not alter the Nature, they are *Mistakes* still.

Interest is an *uncertain* thing, It goeth and cometh, and varieth according to times and circumstances; as good build upon a *Quicksand*, as upon a *Presumption* that *Interest* shall not *alter*. Where are the Men so distinguished from the rest of Mankind, that it is impossible for them to *mistake their Interest*? Who are they that have such an exemption from human Frailty, as that it can never happen to them not to *see their Interest* for want of Understanding, or not to *leap over it* by excess of Zeal?

Above all, *Princes* are the *most* liable to Mistake; not out of any *defect* in their Nature, which might put them under such an unfortunate distinction; quite contrary, the Blood they derive from wise and great Ancestors, does rather distinguish them on the better side; besides that, their great Cha-

acter and Office of Governing giveth a noble Exercise to their Reason, which can very hardly fail to raise and improve it. But there is one Circumstance annexed to their Glorious Calling, which in this respect is sufficient to outweigh all those Advantages; it is, that *Mankind*, divided in most things else, agree in this, to *conspire* in their endeavours to *deceive* and *mislead* them; which maketh it above the power of human understanding, to be so exactly guarded as never to admit a surprize; and the highest applause that could ever yet be given to the greatest Men that ever wore a Crown, is that they *were no oftener deceived*.

Thus I have ventured to lay down my thoughts of the *Nature* of a *Bargain*, and the due *Circumstances* belonging to an *Equivalent*; and will now conclude with this short word: "Where *Distrusting* may be
 " the cause of provoking *Anger*, and
 " *Trusting* may be the cause of bringing
 " *Ruin*, *The Choice is too easie to need the*
 " *being Explained*.

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A
LETTER

TO A
DISSENTER,

Upon occasion of His Ma-
jesties late Gracious De-
claration of Indulgence.

L O N D O N:

Printed in the Year 1704.

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A
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TO A
DISSENTER,

Upon Occasion of His Majesty's
late Gracious Declaration of In-
dulgence.

SIR,

SINCE Addresses are in Fashion,
give me leave to make one to you.
This is neither the Effect of Fear,
Interest, or Resentment; therefore
you may be sure it is sincere: and for that
reason

reason it may expect to be kindly received. Whether it will have Power enough to Convince, dependeth upon the Reasons, of which you are to judge; and upon your Preparation of Mind, to be perswaded by Truth, whenever it appeareth to you. It ought not to be the less welcome, for coming from a friendly hand, one whose kindness to you is not lessened by difference of Opinion, and who will not let his Thoughts for the Publick be so tied or confined to this or that Sub-division of Protestants, as to stifle the Charity, which besides all other Arguments, is at this time become necessary to preserve us.

I am neither Surprized nor Provoked, to see that in the Condition you were put into by the Laws, and the ill Circumstances you lay under, by having the Exclusion and Rebellion laid to your Charge, you were desirous to make your selves less uneasy and obnoxious to Authority. Men who are sore, run to the nearest Remedy with too much haste to consider all the consequences: Grains of allowance are to be given, where Nature giveth such strong Influ-

Influences. When to Men under Sufferings it offereth Ease, the present Pain will hardly allow time to examine the Remedies; and the strongest Reason can hardly gain a fair Audience from our Mind, whilst so possessed, till the smart is a little allayed.

I do not know whether the warmth that naturally belongeth to new Friendships, may not make it a harder task for me to perswade you. It is like telling Lovers, in the beginning of their Joys, that they will in a little time have an end. Such an unwelcome Stile doth not easily find Credit: but I will suppose you are not so far gone in your new Passion, but that you will hear still; and therefore I am under the less Discouragement, when I offer to your Consideration two things; the *First* is, The Cause you have to suspect your new Friends. The *Second*, The Duty incumbent upon you, in Christianity and Prudence, not to hazard the Publick Safety, neither by desire of Ease, nor of Revenge.

To the *First*: Consider that notwithstanding

standing the smooth Language which is now put on to engage you, these new Friends did not make you their Choice, but their Refuge: They have ever made their first Courtships to the Church of *England*, and when they were rejected there, they made their Application to you in the second place. The Instances of this might be given in all times. I do not repeat them, because whatsoever is unnecessary, must be tedious, the truth of this Assertion being so plain, as not to admit a Dispute. You cannot therefore reasonably flatter your selves, that there is any Inclination to you. They never pretended to allow you any Quarter, but to usher in Liberty for themselves under that shelter. I refer you to Mr. *Coleman's Letters*, and to the *Journals of Parliament*, where you may be convinced, if you can be so mistaken as to doubt; nay, at this very hour, they can hardly forbear, in the height of their Courtship, to let fall hard words of you. So little is Nature to be restrained; it will start out sometimes, disdaining to submit to the Usurpation of Art and Interest.

This

This Alliance, between *Liberty* and *Infallibility*, is bringing together the Two most contrary things that are in the World. The Church of *Rome* doth not only dislike the allowing Liberty, but by its Principles it cannot do it. Wine is not more expressly forbid to the *Mahometans*, than giving Hereticks Liberty to the *Papists*: They are no more able to make good their Vows to you, than Men Married before, and their Wife alive, can confirm their Contract with another. The continuance of their kindness, would be a habit of Sin, of which they are to repent, and their Absolution is to be had upon no other terms, than their promise to destroy you. You are therefore to be hugg'd now, only that you may be the better squeezed at another time. There must be something extraordinary, when the Church of *Rome* setteth up Bills, and offereth Plaisters, for tender Consciences: By all that hath hitherto appeared, her skill in Chirurgery lieth chiefly in a quick hand, to cut off Limbs; but she is the worst at healing, of any that ever pretended to it.

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To come so quick from another Extreme, is such an unnatural Motion, that you ought to be upon your Guard: The other Day you were *Sons of Belial*: Now, you are *Angels of Light*. This is a violent change, and it will be fit for you to pause upon it before you believe it: If your Features are not altered, neither is their Opinion of you, whatever may be pretended. Do you believe less than you did, that there is Idolatry in the Church of *Rome*? Sure you do not. See then, how they treat both in Words and Writing, those who entertain that Opinion. Conclude from hence, how inconsistent their Favour is with this single Article, except they give you a Dispensation for this too, and by a *Non Obstante*, secure you that they will not think the worse of you.

Think a little how dangerous it is to build upon a Foundation of Paradoxes. Popery now is the only Friend to Liberty; and the known Enemy to Persecution: The Men of *Taunton* and *Tiverton*, are above all other Eminent for Loyalty. The
Quakers

Quakers from being declared by the *Papists* not to be *Christians*, are now made *Favourites*, and taken into their particular *Protection*; they are on a sudden grown the most *Accomplished Men* of the *Kingdom*, in good *Breeding*, and give *Thanks* with the best *Grace*, in double refined *Language*. So that I should not wonder, though a *Man* of that *Perswasion*, in spite of his *Hat* should be *Master* of the *Ceremonies*. Not to say harsher *Words*, these are such very new things, that it is impossible not to suspend our *Belief*, till by a little more *Experience* we may be inform'd whether they are *Realities* or *Apparitions*: We have been under shameful *Mistakes*, if these *Opinions* are true; but for the present, we are apt to be *Incredulous*; except we could be convinced, that the *Priest's Words* in this *Case* too, are able to make such a sudden and effectual *Change*; and that their *Power* is not limited to the *Sacrament*, but that it extendeth to alter the *Nature* of all other things, as often as they are so disposed.

Let me now speak of the Instruments of your Friendship, and then leave you to judge, whether they do not afford Matter of Suspicion. No sharpness is to be mingled where healing only is intended; so nothing will be said to expose particular Men, how strong soever the Temptation may be, or how clear the Proofs to make it out. A word or two in general, for your better Caution, shall suffice: Suppose then, for Argument's sake, that the Mediators of this new Alliance, should be such as have been formerly employ'd in Treaties of the same kind, and there detected to have Acted by Order, and to have been Impower'd to give Encouragements and Rewards. Would not this be an Argument to suspect them?

If they should plainly be under Engagements to one side, their Arguments to the other ought to be received accordingly; their fair Pretences are to be looked upon as part of their Commission, which may not improbably give them a Dispensation in the Case of Truth, when it may bring a prejudice upon the Service of those by whom they are employed.

If there should be Men who having formerly had Means and Authority to persuade by Secular Arguments, have in pursuance of that Power, sprinkled Money amongst the Dissenting Ministers; and if those very Men should now have the same Authority, practise the same Methods, and Disburse, where they cannot otherwise persuade: It seemeth to me to be rather an Evidence than a Presumption of the Deceit.

If there should be Ministers amongst you, who by having fallen under Temptations of this kind, are in some sort engaged to continue their Frailty, by the awe they are in lest it should be exposed: The persuasions of these unfortunate Men must sure have the less force, and their Arguments, though never so specious, are to be suspected, when they come from Men who have Mortgaged themselves to severe Creditors, that expect a Rigorous Observation of the Contract, let it be never so unwarrantable.

If these, or any others, should at this time Preach up Anger and Vengeance against the Church of *England*; may it not without

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out Injustice be suspected, that a thing so plainly out of season, springeth rather from Corruption than Mistake; and that those who act this Cholerick part, do not believe themselves, but only pursue higher Directions, and endeavour to make good that part of their Contract which obligeth them, upon a Forfeiture, to make use of their inflaming Eloquence? They might apprehend their Wages would be retrench'd if they should be Moderate: And therefore whilst Violence is their Interest, those who have not the same Arguments, have no reason to follow such a partial Example.

If there should be Men, who by the load of their Crimes against the Government, have been bowed down to comply with it against their Conscience; who by incurring the want of a Pardon, have drawn upon themselves a necessity of an entire Resignation: Such Men are to be lamented, but not to be believed. Nay, they themselves, when they have discharged their Unwelcome Task, will be inwardly glad that their forced Endeavours do not succeed, and are pleased when Men
resist

resist their Insinuations; which are far from being voluntary or Sincere; but are squeezed out of them by the weight of their being so Obnoxious.

If in the height of this great dear-
ness, by comparing things, it should hap-
pen, that at this Instance, there is much
a surer Friendship with those who are so
far from allowing Liberty, that they al-
low no Living to a Protestant under them.
Let the Scene lie in what part of the
World it will, the Argument will come
home, and sure it will afford sufficient
ground to suspect. Apparent Contradicti-
ons must strike us; neither Nature nor
Reason can digest them: Self-Flattery, and
the desire to Deceive our selves, to gra-
tify present Appetite, with all their Pow-
er, which is Great, cannot get the bet-
ter of such broad Conviction, as some
things carry along with them. Will you
call these vain and empty Suspicions? have
you been at all times so void of Fears
and Jealousies as to justify your being
so unreasonably Valiant in having none
upon this occasion? Such an extraor-
dinary

dinary Courage
to say no more
to be commenc

at this unseasonable time,
, is too dangerous a Virtue
led.

If then, for these and a thousand other
Reasons, there is cause to suspect, sure
your new Friends are not to dictate to
you, or advise you; for Instance, The
Addresses that fly abroad every Week, and
Murther us with another to the same; the
first Draughts are made by those who
are not very proper to be Secretaries to
the Protestant Religion: and it is your
part only to write them out fairer a-
gain.

Strange! that you who have been for-
merly so much against *Set Forms*, should
now be content that the Priests should Indite
for you. The nature of Thanks is an
unavoidable consequence of being plea-
sed or obliged; they grow in the Heart,
and from thence shew themselves either
in Looks, Speech, Writing, or Action:
No Man was ever Thankful because he
was bid to be so, but because he had, or
thought

thought he had some reason for it. If then there is cause in this Case to pay such extravagant Acknowledgments, they will flow naturally, without taking such pains to procure them; and it is unlikely to tire all the Post-Horses with Circular Letters to solicit that which would be done without any Trouble or Constraint: If it is really in it self such a Favour, what needeth so much pressing Men to be thankful, and with such eager circumstances, that where Persuasions cannot delude, Threatnings are employed to fright them into a Compliance. Thanks must be voluntary, not only unconstrained, but unsolicited, else they are either Trifles or Snares, that either signify nothing, or a great deal more than is intended by those that give them. If an Inference should be made, That whosoever thanketh the King for his Declaration, is by that engaged to Justify it in point of Law; it is a greater Stride, than I presume all those care to make who are perswaded to Address. If it shall be supposed, that all the Thankers will be Repealers of the TEST, whenever a Parliament shall meet; Such an Expectation

is better prevented before, than disappointed afterwards; and the surest way to avoid the Scandal, is not to do any thing that may give a colour to the Mistake: These bespoken Thanks are little less improper than Love-Letters that were solicited by the Lady to whom they are to be directed: so, that besides the little ground there is to give them, the manner of getting them doth extremely lessen their value. It might be wished that you would have suppressed your impatience, and have been content for the sake of Religion, to enjoy it without your selves without the Liberty of a publick Exercise, till a Parliament had allowed it; but since that could not be, and that the Artifices of some amongst you have made use of the well-meant Zeal of the generality, to draw them into this Mistake; I am so far from blaming you with that sharpness, which, perhaps, the Matter in strictness would bear, that I am ready to err on the side of the more gentle construction.

There

There is a great difference between enjoying quietly the Advantages of an Act irregularly done by others, and the going about to support it against the Laws in being: The Law is so Sacred, that no Trespas against it is to be Defended; yet Frailties may in some measure be excused, when they cannot be justified. The Desire of enjoying a Liberty, from which Men have been so long restrained, may be a Temptation that their Reason is not at all times able to resist. If in such a case, some Objections are leapt over, indifferent Men will be more inclined to lament the Occasion, than to fall too hard upon the Fault, whilst it is covered with the Apology of a good intention. But where to rescue your selves from the Severity of one Law, you give a Blow to all the Laws, by which your Religion and Liberty are to be Protected; and instead of silently receiving the Benefit of this Indulgence, you set up for Advocates to support it, you become voluntary Aggressors, and look like Coun-

fel retained by the Prerogative against your old Friend *Magna Charta*, who hath done nothing to deserve her falling thus under your Displeasure.

If the Case then should be, that the Price expected from you for this Liberty, is giving up your Right in the Laws, sure you will think twice, before you go any further in such a losing Bargain. After giving Thanks for the Breach of one Law, you lose the Right of Complaining of the Breach of all the rest; you will not very well know how to defend your selves when you are pressed; and having given up the Question when it was for your Advantage, you cannot recall it when it shall be to your Prejudice. If you will set up at one time a Power to help you, which at another time, by parity of Reason, shall be made use of to destroy you, you will neither be pitied, nor relieved against a Mischief you draw upon your selves, by being so unreasonably thankful. It is like calling in Auxiliaries to help, who are strong enough
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to subdue you : In such a Case your Complaints will come too late to be heard, and your Sufferings will raise Mirth instead of Compassion.

If you think, for your Excuse, to expound your Thanks, so as to restrain them to this particular Case, others, for their Ends, will extend them farther : And in these differing Interpretations, that which is back'd by Authority will be the most likely to prevail ; especially when by the Advantage you have given them, they have in truth the better of the Argument, and that the Inferences from your own Concessions are very strong, and express against you. This is so far from being a groundless Supposition, that there was a late Instance of it, the last Session of Parliament, in the House of Lords, where the first Thanks, tho' things of course, were interpreted to be the Approbation of the King's whole Speech, and a Restraint from the further Examination of any part of it, though never so much disliked ; and it was with Difficulty obtained, not to be
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excluded from the liberty of objecting to this mighty Prerogative of Dispensing, meerly by this innocent and usual piece of good Manners, by which no such thing could possibly be intended.

This sheweth, that some Bounds are to be put to your good Breeding, and that the Constitution of *England* is too valuable a thing to be ventured upon a Complement. Now that you have for some time enjoyed the Benefit of the End, it is time for you to look into the Danger of the Means: The same Reason that made you desirous to get Liberty, must make you solicitous to preserve it; so that the next Thought will naturally be, not to engage your self beyond Retreat; and to agree so far with the Principles of all Religion, as not to rely upon a Death-bed Repentance.

There are certain Periods of Time, which being once past, make all Cautions ineffectual, and all Remedies desperate.

rate. Our Understandings are apt to be hurried on by the first Heats, which, if not restrained in time, do not give us leave to look back, till it is too late. Consider this in the Case of your Anger against the Church of *England*, and take Warning by their Mistake in the same kind, when after the late King's Restoration, they preserved so long the bitter Taste of your rough Usage to them in other times, that it made them forget their Interest, and Sacrifice it to their Revenge.

Either you will blame this Proceeding in them, and for that Reason not follow it, or if you allow it, you have no reason to be offended with them; so that you must either dismiss your Anger, or lose your Excuse; except you should Argue more partially than will be supposed of Men of your Morality and Understanding.

If you had now to do with those Rigid Prelates, who made it a matter of Conscience to give you the least Indulgence,
but

but kept you at an uncharitable Distance, and even to your most reasonable Scruples continued stiff and inexorable, the Argument might be fairer on your side; but since the Common Danger has so laid open that Mistake, that all the former Haughtiness towards you is for ever extinguished, and that it hath turned the Spirit of Persecution into a Spirit of Peace, Charity and Condescension; shall this Happy Change only affect the Church of *England*? And are you so in love with Separation, as not to be mov'd by this Example? It ought to be followed, were there no other Reason than that it is Virtue; but when besides that, it is become necessary to your Preservation, it is impossible to fail the having its Effect upon you.

If it should be said, that the Church of *England* is never humble but when she is out of Power, and therefore loseth the Right of being believed when she pretendeth to it: The Answer is, *First*, it would be an uncharitable Objection, and very much mis-timed; an unseasonable Triumph,

umph, not only Ungenerous, but Unsafe: So that in these respects it cannot be urged, without Scandal, even though it could be said with Truth. *Secondly*, This is not so in Fact, and the Argument must fall, being built upon a false Foundation; for whatever may be told you at this very hour, and in the Heat and Glare of your present Sunshine, the Church of *England* can in a Moment bring Clouds again; and turn the Royal Thunder upon your Heads, blow you off the Stage with a Breath, if she would give but a Smile or a kind Word; the least Glimpse of her Compliance would throw you back into the State of Suffering, and draw upon you all the Arrears of Severity, which have accrued during the time of this Kindness to you; and yet the Church of *England*, with all her Faults, will not allow her self to be Rescued by such unjustifiable means, but chuseth to bear the weight of Power, rather than lie under the Burthen of being Criminal.

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It cannot be said, that she is unprovoked; Books and Letters come out every Day, to call for Answers, yet She will not be stirred. From the supposed Authors, and the Stile, one would swear, they were Undertakers, and had made a Contract to fall out with the Church of *England*. There are Lashes in every Address, Challenges to draw the Pen in every Pamphlet: In short, the fairest Occasions in the World given to Quarrel; but she wisely distinguisheth between the Body of Dissenters, whom she will suppose to Act as they do, with no ill Intent, and these small Skirmishers, pickt and sent out to Picqueer, and to begin a Fray amongst the Protestants, for the Entertainment as well as the Advantage of the Church of *Rome*.

This Conduct is so good, that it will be Scandalous not to applaud it. It is not equal Dealing to blame our Adversaries for doing ill, and not commend them when they do well.

To

To Hate them because they Persecuted, and not to be Reconciled to them when they are ready to Suffer, rather than receive all the Advantages that can be gained by a Criminal Compliance, is a Principle no sort of Christians can own, since it would give an Objection to them never to be answered.

Think a little who they were that promoted your former Persecutions, and then consider how it will look to be angry with the Instruments, and at the same time to make a League with the Authors of your Sufferings.

Have you enough considered what will be expected from you? Are you ready to stand in every Borough by Vertue of a *Conge d' Eslire*, and instead of Election, be satisfied if you are Returned?

Will you in *Parliament* justify the Dispensing Power, with all its Consequences,

quences, and Repeal the *Test*, by which you will make way for the Repeal of all the Laws, that were made to preserve your Religion, and to Enact others that shall destroy it?

Are you disposed to change the Liberty of Debate into the Merit of Obedience; and to be made Instruments to Repeal or Enact Laws, when the *Roman Consistory* are *Lords of the Articles*?

Are you so linked with your new Friends, as to reject any Indulgence a *Parliament* shall offer you, if it shall not be so comprehensive as to include the Papists in it?

Consider, that the imply'd Conditions of your new Treaty are no less, than that you are to do every thing you are desired, without examining, and that for this pretended Liberty of Conscience, your real Freedom is to be Sacrificed: Your former Faults hang like Chains still about you, you are let loose only upon Bayl; the first
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Act of Non-compliance, sendeth you to Gaol again.

You may see that the Papists themselves do not rely upon the Legality of this Power, which you are to justify, since the being so very earnest to get it Established by a Law, and the doing such very hard things in order, as they think, to obtain it, is a clear Evidence, that they do not think that the single Power of the Crown is in this Case a good Foundation: especially when this is done under a Prince, so very Tender of all the Rights of Sovereignty, that he would think it a Diminution to his Prerogative, where he conceiveth it strong enough to go alone, to call in the Legislative help to strengthen and support it.

You have formerly blamed the *Church of England*, and not without Reason, for going so far as they did in their Compliance; and yet as soon as they stopped, you see they are not only Deserted, but Prosecuted: Conclude then from this Example, that you must either break off
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your Friendship, or resolve to have no Bounds in it. If they do not succeed in their Design, they will leave you first; if they do, you must either leave them, when it will be too late for your Safety, or else after the squeaziness of starting at a Surplice, you must be forced to swallow Transubstantiation.

Remember that the other day those of the *Church of England* were *Trimmers* for enduring you, and now by a sudden Turn, you are become the Favourites; do not deceive your selves, it is not the Nature of lasting Plants thus to shoot up in a Night; you may look gay and green for a little time, but you want a Root to give you a Continuance. It is not so long since, as to be forgotten, that the *Maxim* was, *It is Impossible for a Dissenter not to be a REBEL*. Consider at this time in *France*, even the New Converts are so far from being employed, that they are disarmed; their sudden Change maketh them still to be distrusted, notwithstanding that they are Reconciled: What are you to expect then from your dear Friends, to whom, whenever they shall think fit
to

to throw you off again, you have in other times given such Arguments for their excuse?

Besides all this, you Act very unskillfully against your visible Interest, if you throw away the Advantages, of which you can hardly fail in the next probable Revolution. Things tend Naturally to what you would have, if you would let them alone, and not by an unseasonable Activity lose the Influences of your good Star, which promiseth you every thing that is Prosperous.

The *Church of England* convinced of its Error in being severe to you; the *Parliament*, whenever it Meeteth, sure to be Gentle to you; the Next Heir, Bred in the Country which you have so often Quoted for a Pattern of Indulgence; a General Agreement of all thinking Men, that we must no more cut our selves off from the Protestants abroad, but rather enlarge the Foundations upon which we are to Build our Defences against the Common Enemy; so that in Truth, all

things seem to Conspire to give you Ease and Satisfaction, if by too much haste to anticipate your good Fortune, you do not destroy it.

The Protestants have but one Article of Humane Strength, to oppose the Power which is now against them, and that is, not to lose the Advantage of their Numbers, by being so unwary as to let Themselves be Divided.

We all agree in our Duty to our Prince ; our Objections to his Belief do not hinder us from seeing his Virtues ; and our not complying with his Religion, hath no Effect upon our Allegiance ; we are not to be laughed out of our Passive Obedience, and the Doctrine of Non-resistance ; though even those who perhaps owe the best part of their Security to that Principle, are apt to make a Jest of it.

So

So that if we give no Advantage by the Fatal Mistake of misapplying our Anger, by the natural course of things, this Danger will pass away like a Shower of Hail; fair Weather will succeed, as Lowring as the Sky now Looketh, and all this by a plain and easie Receipt; *Let us be still, quiet, and undivided, firm at the same time to our Religion, our Loyalty, and our Laws; and so long as we continue this Method, it is next to impossible, that the Odds of Two Hundred to One should lose the Bett; except the Church of Rome, which hath been so long Barren of Miracles, should now in her declining Age, be Brought to Bed of One that would out-do the best she can brag of in her Legend.*

To conclude, the short Question will be, Whether you will joyn with those who must in the end run the same Fate with you? If Protestants of all sorts, in their Behaviour to one another, have been to Blame, they are upon more equal Terms, and for that very Reason, it is fitter for them now to be Reconciled. Our

Dis-union is not only a Reproach, but a Danger to Us ; those who believe in Modern Miracles, have more Right, or at least, more Excuse, to neglect all Secular Cautions ; ; but for us, it is as justifiable to have no Religion, as wilfully to throw away the Human Means of preserving it.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your Most Affectionate Humble Servant,

T. W.

82
S O M E
CAUTIONS

Offered to the
CONSIDERATION
Of Those who are to
Chuse MEMBERS
TO SERVE in the
Ensuing Parliament.

L O N D O N:

Printed in the Year 1704.

Some Cautions offered to the Consideration of those who are to Chuse Members to Serve for the Ensuing Parliament.

I Will make no other Introduction, than that it is hoped the Counties and Boroughs will remember in general, That besides other Consequences, they will have the Credit of a good Choice, or the Scandal that belongs to an ill one.

The Creators will be thought like their Creatures; and therefore an ill Choice will either be a Disparagement of their Understanding, or their Morals.

There cannot be a fuller Approbation of a thing, than the Chusing of it; so that the fault of the Members chosen, if known before-hand, will be judged to be of the growth of that County or Borough, after such a solemn Approbation of them.

In short, those that send up their Representatives to *Westminster*, should take care they may be such as will do them Right, and their Country Honour.

Now to the particulars.

I. A very extraordinary earnestness to be chosen, is no very good Symptom: A desire to serve the Nation in Parliament, is an *English* Man's Ambition: Always to be Encouraged, and never to be disapproved.

A Man may not only be willing to stand, but he may declare that willingness to his Friends, that they may assist him, and by all the Means becoming a Modest and Prudent Man, he may endeavour to succeed, and prevent the being disappointed in it.

But there is a wide difference between this and the raising a kind of petty War in the County or Corporation; Entering the Lists rather for a Combat than an Election; throwing Fire-balls to put Men into heats, and omitting to spread no Reports, whether true or false, which may give an advantage by laying a Blemish upon a Competitor.

These Methods will ever be Suspicious; it will never be thought a Natural thing for Men to take such extravagant pains for the meer sake of doing good to others.

To be content to suffer something for a good end, is that which many would do without any great repugnance: but where a Man can honestly propose nothing to himself, except Troubles, Charge, and Loss, by Absence from his own Affairs, to be so violent

violent in the pursuit of so ill a Bargain, is not at all suited to the languishing Virtue of Mankind so corrupted.

Such a self-denying Zeal in such a self-seeking Age, is so little to be imagined, that it may without injury be suspected.

Therefore when these Blustering Pretenders come upon the Stage, their natural Temper and other Circumstances ought to be very well consider'd, before Men trust them with the disposal of their Money, or their Liberty.

And I am apt to believe, there could hardly be found one single Man whose other Qualifications would over-balance the Objections that lie against such importunate Suitors.

II. Recommending Letters ought to have no Effect upon Elections.

In this I must distinguish; for tho in strictness perhaps there should be no exception; yet in compliance with long practice, and out of an Indulgence that is necessary in a time when Mankind is too much loosened from severe Rules, to be kept close up to them, Letters sent only from equal Men, doing Good Men right by giving Evidence in their behalf, offering them as fitly qualified, when they really are so, and freeing them from unjust Aspersions, may be still allowed.

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The Letters I mean, are from Men of Power, where it may be beneficial to comply, and inconvenient to oppose.

Choice must not only be free from Force, but from Influence, which is a degree of Force; There must be no difficulty, no apprehension that a Refusal will be ill taken, or resented.

The Freeholders must be Freemen too; they are to have no Shackles upon their Votes in an Election: And the Men who stand, should carry their own Letters of Recommendation about them, which are their good Character and Behaviour in the World, without borrowing Evidence, especially when it comes from suspected hands.

Those who make use of these Epistles, ought to have no more advantage from them, than the *Muscovites* have from the Letter put into their hands when they are buried, to recommend them to St. *Nicolas*.

The first should as little get admittance for Men into the Parliament, as these Letters can introduce the Bearers into Heaven.

The Scandal of such Letters lieth first in the arrogant imposing of those that write them, and next in the wretched Meanness of those that need them.

Men must be fallen very low in their Credit, who upon such an occasion have a

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a recourse to Power to support it: Their Enemies could not give stronger Evidence of their not being fit for that which they pretend to. And if the Electors judge otherwise, they will be pretty sure in a little time to see their Mistake, and to repent it.

III. Non-Attendance in former Parliaments ought to be a Bar against the Choice of Men who have been guilty of it.

It is one of the worst kinds of Non-Residence, and the least to be excused: It is very hard that Men should despise a Duty, which perhaps is the only ground of the respect that is paid to them.

It is such a piece of Sawciness for any one to press for the Honour of Serving in Parliament, and then to be careless in Attending it, that in a House where there were so many Officers, the Penalty had not been improper to have Cashier'd them for not appearing at the General Muster.

If Men forbear to come out of Laziness, let them be gratified by taking their Ease at Home without Interruption; If out of small Cunning to avoid Difficulties, and to escape from the inconvenience of Voting in Critical Cases, let them enjoy that despicable pitch of Wisdom, and never pretend to make a Figure where the Publick is to be served.

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If it would not be thought advisable to trust a Man immediately after he hath been drawn out of Gaol, it may be as reasonable to look upon one who for his Non-attendance in the House hath been sent for in Custody, as a kind of Bankrupt, which putteth him upon unequal terms with those who have been assiduous in the discharge of their Duty.

They who thought fit in one Session to neglect the Publick Business, may be justly suspected, by their standing, in the next to intend their own.

Besides these more deliberate Offenders, there are some who do not Attend even when they are in the House; absent in their Thoughts for want of Comprehending the Business that is doing, and therefore diverted from it by any thing that is Trivial.

Such Men are Nufances to a serious Assembly; and when they are Numerous, it amounteth almost to a Dissolution; it being scarce possible for good Sense to be heard, whilst a noise is made by the buzzing of these Horse-flies.

The *Roman* Censors who degraded a Senator for yawning whilst there was a Debate, would have much more abundant matter here upon which they might exercise their Jurisdiction.

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To conclude this Head, There are so few that ever mended in these Cases, that after the first Experiment it is not at all reasonable to take them upon a new Tryal.

IV. Men who are unquiet and busie in their Natures, are to give more than ordinary proofs of their Integrity, before the Electing them into a Publick Trust can be justified. As a hot Summer breedeth greater Swarms of Flies, so an active time breedeth a greater number of these shining Gentlemen.

It is pretty sure, That Men who cannot allow themselves to be at rest, will let nobody else be at quiet. Such a perpetual Activity is apt by degrees to be applied to the pursuit of their private Interest. And their thoughts being in a continual motion, they have not time to dwell long enough upon any thing to entertain a scruple.

So that they are generally at full liberty to do what is most convenient for them, without being fettered by any Restraints.

Nay further; whenever it hapneth that there is an impunity for Cheating, these nimble Gentlemen are apt to think it a disparagement to their Understandings not to go in to it.

I doubt it is not a wrong to the present Age, to say, that a Knave is a less unpopular Calling than it hath been in former Times

times. And to say Truth, it would be Ingratitude in some Men to turn Honest, when they owe all they have to their Knavery.

The People are in this Respect unhappy; they are too many to do their own Business; their numbers, which make their strength, are at the same time the cause of their weakness; they are too unweildy to move; and for this Reason nothing can ever redeem them from this incurable Impotency: So that they must have Solicitors to pursue and look after their Interests; who are too often disposed to dispense with the Fidelity they owe to those that trust them; especially if the Government will pay their Bills without Abatement.

It is better these Gentlemen's Dexterity should be employed any where than in Parliament, where the ill consequence of their being Members is too much diffused, and not restrained to the County or Borough who shall be so unwary as to Chuse them.

V. Great Drinkers are less fit to serve in Parliament than is apprehended.

Men's Virtue, as well as their Understanding, is apt to be tainted by it.

The appearance of it is Sociable and well-natur'd, but it is by no means to be rely'd upon.

Nothing

Nothing is more frail than a Man too far engaged in wet Popularity.

The habit of it maketh Men careless of their Business, and that naturally leadeth them into Circumstances, that make them liable to Temptation.

It is seldom seen, That any Principles have such a root, as that they can be proof against the continual droppings of a Bottle.

As to the Faculties of the Mind, there is not less Objection; the Vapours of Wine may sometimes throw out Sparks of Wit, but they are like scattered pieces of Ore; there is no Vein to work upon.

Such Wit, even the best of it, is like paying great Fines; in which Case there must of necessity be an abatement of the constant Rent.

Nothing sure is a greater Enemy to the Brain, than too much moisture; it can the least of any thing bear the being continually steeped: And it may be said, that Thought may be resembled to some Creatures which can live only in a dry Country.

Yet so Arrogant are some Men, as to think they are so much Masters of Business, as that they can play with it; they imagine they can drown their Reason once a day, and that it shall not be the worse for it; forgetting, that by too often dividing the Under-

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standing at last groweth too weak to rise up again.

I will suppose this Fault was less frequent when *Solon* made it one of his Laws, That it was Lawful to Kill a Magistrate if he was found Drunk. Such a Liberty taken in this Age, either in the Parliament or out of it, would do terrible Execution.

I cannot but mention a Petition in the Year 1647, from the County of *Devon*, to the House of Commons, against the undue Election of Burgesses, who are strong in Wine, and weak in Wisdom.

The cause of such Petitions is to be prevented by Chusing such as shall not give handle for them.

VI. Wanting-Men give such cause of Suspicion wherever they deal, that surely the Chusers will be upon their Guard, as often as such dangerous pretenders make their application to them.

Let the Behaviour of such Men be never so plausible and untainted, yet they who are to pitch upon those they are to trust with all they have, may be excused, if they do not only consider what they are, but what they may be.

As we Pray our selves we may not be led into Temptation, we ought not by any means to thrust others into it; even though

though our own Interest was not concerned: And sure when it is, the Argument hath no less force.

If a Man hath a small Estate, and a numerous Family; where it happeneth that a Man hath as many Children as he hath Tenants, it is not a Recommending Circumstance for his Election.

When it cometh to be the question with such a Man, whether he shall be Just to the Publick, or Cruel to his Family; It is very possible the decision may be on the side of Corrupted Nature.

It is a Complement to this Age, which it doth not deserve, to suppose Men are so ty'd up to Morality, as that they cannot be pinched out of it: especially now when it is called Starving not to be Embroidered, or Served in Plate.

The Men Chosen to Serve their Country, should not be loaden with Suits that may tempt them to assume Privileges; much less under such Necessities as may more immediately prepare them for Corruption.

Men who need a Parliament for their own particular Interest, have more reason to offer their Service than others have to accept of it. And though I do not doubt, but there may be some whose Virtue would

triumph over their Wants, let them be never so pressing; yet to expose the Publick to the hazard of being deceived, is that which can never be justify'd by those that Chuse. And tho' it must be allow'd possible for a Wanting-man to be Honest, yet it is impossible for a Man to be Wise that will depend upon it.

VII. There is a sort of Men that have a Tinsel-Wit, which makes them shine among those who cannot judge.

Club and Coffee-house Gentlemen, Petty Merchants of small Conceits, who have an empty habit of prating without meaning; They always aim at Wit, and generally make false Fire.

Their Business is less to learn, than to set themselves out; which makes them chuse to be with such as can only be Witnesses of their small Ingenuity, rather than with such as might improve it.

There is a subordinate Wit, as much inferior to a Wit of Business, as a Fidler at a Wake is to the lofty sound of an Organ.

Men of this Size are in no degree suited to the business of redressing Grievances, and making Laws.

There is a Parliament Wit to be distinguish'd from all other kinds; those who have

have it, do not stuff their heads only with Cavils and Objections.

They have a deliberate and an observing Wit; a Head turned to Publick things; Men who place a greater Pleasure in mending a Fault than in finding it out.

Their Understanding directeth them to Object in the right place, and not like those who go by no other Rule, than to conclude, That must be the best Counsel which was not taken.

These Wholesale Judges shew such a gross and peevish Ignorance, that appeareth so openly in all they say or do, that they give loud warning to all considering Men, not to chuse them.

VIII. The dislike of slight Airy Men must not go so far, as to recommend heaviness in opposition to it, especially where Men are convicted of it by Experience in former Sessions.

As a lively Coxcomb will seldom fail to lay in his Claim for Wit; so a Block-head is apt to pretend, that his heaviness is a proof of his Judgment.

Some have an universal Lethargy spread upon their Understanding without Exception; others have an Insufficiency *quoad hoc*, as in some Cases Men have *quoad hanc*; These last can never so turn their

thoughts to Publick Business, as to give the attention that is necessary to comprehend it.

There are those who have such a thick Shell upon their Brains, that their Ignorance is Impenetrable, and maketh such a stout resistance against Common Sense, that it will never be Subdued by it: True Heart of Oak Ignorance, that will never yield, let Reason beat never so hard upon it; and tho' their kind Neighbours have at several Elections sent them up to School again, they have still return'd the same incurable Dunces.

There is a false Gravity that is a very ill symptom; and it may be said, That as Rivers, which run very slowly, have always the most Mud at the bottom; so a solid Stiffness in the constant course of a Man's Life, is a sign of a thick Bed of Mud at the bottom of his Brain.

A Dull Man is so near a Dead Man, that he is hardly to be ranked in the List of the Living; and as he is not to be Buri'd whilst he is half alive, so he is as little to be employed whilst he is half dead.

Parliaments are now grown to be quite other things than they were formerly.

In ancient Times they were little more than Great Assizes; A Roll of Grievances;

Magna

Magna Charta confirmed; Privileges of Holy Church Preserved; so many Sacks of Wooll given, and away.

Now there are Traps and Gins laid for the Well-meaning Country-Gentleman; he is to Grapple with the Cunning of Men in Town, which is not a little improv'd by being Rewarded and Encourag'd.

So that Men whose Good Intentions are not seconded and supported by some degree of Ability, are as much the more dangerous, as they are less criminal than Cunning Knaves. Their honest Mistakes, for want of distinguishing, either give a Countenance to, or at least lessen the Scandal of the Injurious things that are done to the Publick: and with leave ask'd for so odd an Expression, Their Innocent Guilt is as Mischievous to the Laws and Liberties, as the most deliberate Malice of those that would destroy them.

IX. There is an Abuse which daily increaseth, of sending such to Parliament, as are scarce old enough to be sent to the University.

I would not in this restrain the Definition of these Boys to the Age of Twenty One: If my Opinion might take place, I should wish that none might be chosen into the House of Commons under Thirty;

and to make some Equality, I should from the same Motives think it convenient, That no Lord should have a Vote in Judicature under that Age.

But to leave this Digression; I cannot see why the Chusers should not at least make it a Rule among themselves, Not to send any Man to represent them under the Age of Twenty five, which is the time of Majority in most other places of the World.

Surely it is not that we are Earlier Plants than our Neighbours.

Such supposition could neither be justifi'd by our Climate, nor by the Degree of Latitude in which we are placed; I must therefore attribute it to the haste our Ancestors had (and not without reason) to free themselves from the Severity of Wardships.

But whether this, or any thing else, was the cause of our earlier stepping into Man's Estate; so it is now, that according to our Laws, Twenty one is the Age of Discretion; and the Young Man is then vested with a Legal, how defective soever he may be in his Natural Understanding.

With all this there ought to be a difference made between coming out of Pupilage, and leaping into Legislatorsnip.

It is perhaps inconvenient enough that a Man should be so soon let loose to destroy his own Estate; but it is yet worse, that he should then have a Power of giving away other Men's.

The Law must make General Rules, to which there always will be some Objections.

If there were Tryers appointed to Judge when Leading-strings may be left off, many would wear them a very great while, and some perhaps with their Gray Hairs; there being no small Number of Old Boys in all times, and especially in this.

It is necessary therefore to make Exceptions to this General Rule, where the Case so much requireth it, as it doth in the matter in question.

The ground of sending these *Minors* to Parliament ought not to recommend the Continuance of it to those who are Lovers of Liberty; since it was by the Authority and Influence of Great Men, that their Stripling Sons were first receiv'd by the humble depending Boroughs, or the complying Counties.

They called it, as many do still, the best School for Young Men. Now Experience hath shew'd us, that it is like a School only in this respect, That these
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Youngsters when they are Admitted, deserve to be Whipp'd in it.

If the House of Commons is a School, it must be for Men of Riper Age; these are too young to learn there, and being Elevated by a mistaken smattering in small Politicks, they grow too supercilious to learn any where else; so that instead of improving young promising Plants, they are destroy'd by being misplac'd.

If then they do themselves hurt by it, it is surer yet that they do the House no good by coming into it.

They were not Green Geese that are said to have sav'd the Capitol; they were certainly of full Age, or else their Cackling could not have been heard, so as to give warning.

Indeed it look'd of late, when the Fashion was to have long continu'd Parliaments, as if we might Plant a Boy in the House with a Prospect that he might continue there till he had Gray Hairs: and that the same Sapling might have such a Root, as that he might grow up to be Timber without being Remov'd.

If these Young Men had skill enough to pitch upon some Body in the House, to whom they might resign their Opinion, and upon whose Judgment they might lean without Reserve, there might be less Objection.

But

But to speak Truth, They know as little how to chuse, as those did who Elected them; so that there is no other Expedient left, than the letting them alone.

One may say, generally speaking, That a young Man being too soon qualify'd for the serious Business of Parliaments, would really be no good symptom.

It is a sign of too much Phlegm, and too little Fire in the beginning of Age, if Men have not a little more heat than is convenient; for as they grow older they will run a hazard of not having so much as is necessary.

The Truth is, The Vigour of Youth is soften'd and misapply'd, when it is not spent either in War or close Studies; all other Courses have an idle mixture that cometh to nothing, and maketh them like Trees, which for want of Pruning run up to Wood, and seldom or never bear any Fruit.

To conclude this Head, it must be own'd, That there is no Age of our Life which doth not carry Arguments along with it to humble us; and therefore it would be well for the Business of the World, if young Men would stay longer before they went into it, and old Men not so long before they went out of it.

X. Next to these may be rank'd a sort of Superfine Gentlemen, Carpet-Knights, Men whose Heads may be said to be only Appurtenances to their Perukes, which entirely ingross all their Care and Application.

Their Understanding is so strictly appropriated to their Dress, that no part of it is upon pain of their utmost Displeasure to be diverted to any other use.

It is not by this intended to recommend an affected Clown, or to make it a necessary Qualification for a Member of Parliament, that he must renounce clean Linnen or good Manners; but surely a too earnest Application to make every thing sit right about them, striketh too deep into their small stock of Thoughts to allow it Furniture for any thing else.

To do Right to these fine-spun Gentlemen, Business is too coarse a thing for them, which maketh it an unreasonable Hardship upon them to oppress them with it; so that in tenderness to them, no less than out of care to the Publick, it is best to leave them to their Taylors with whom they will live in much better Correspondence, when the Danger is prevented of their falling out about Privileges.

XI. Men

XI. Men of Injustice and Violence, in their Private Dealings, are not to be trusted by the People with a Commission to Treat for them in Parliament.

In the 4th. of *Edw.* 3. The King Commandeth in his Writs, not to chuse any Knights who had been Guilty of Crime, or Maintenance.

These warm Men seldom fail to run into Maintenance, taken in a larger Extent.

It is an unnatural Sound to come from a Man that is Arbitrary in his Neighbourhood, to talk of Laws and Liberties at *Westminster*; he is not a proper Vehicle for such words, which ought never to be Prophaned.

An habitual Breaker of the Laws, to be made one of the Law-makers, is as if the Benches in *Westminster-hall* should be filled with Men out of *Newgate*.

Those who are of this Temper cannot change their Nature out of respect to their Country.

Quite contrary, they will less scruple to do Wrong to a Nation where no Body taketh it to himself, than to particular Men, to whose Resentments they are more immediately exposed.

In short, they lie under such strong Objections, that the over-balance of better Men cannot altogether purify an Assembly

bly where these unclean Beasts are admitted.

XII. Excessive Spenders and unreasonable Savers are to be Excluded, being both greedy from differing Causes.

They are both of them Diseases of Infection, and for that Reason are not to be admitted into Publick Assemblies.

A Prodigal Man must be greedy, because he thinketh he can never spend enough.

The Wretch must be so, because he will never think he can hoard enough.

The World first admireth Men's Wisdom for getting Money, and then railleth at them if they do not throw it away? So that the Prodigal Man is only the less unpopular Extreme; he is every jot as well prepared as the Miser to fall out with his Morals, when once a good Temptation is offered him to lay them aside.

On the other side, some Rich Men are as eager to overtake those that are Richer, as a Running Horse is to get to the Race-Post before the other that contendeth with him.

Men often desire to heap, rather because others have more, than that they know what to do with that which they Covet with so much Impatience.

So that 'tis plain, the Fancy hath as great a share in this imaginary Pleasure of gathering,

ing, as it hath in Love, Ambition, or any other Passion.

It is pretty sure, that as no Man was ever the Richer for having a good Estate, if he did not look after it, so neither will he be the Honester if he hath never so much.

Want of Care will always create want of Money; so that whether a Man is a Beggar because he never had any Money, or because he can never keep any, it is all one to those who are to trust him.

Upon this Head of Prodigality, it may be no unreasonable Caution to be afraid of those who in former Service have been extravagantly Liberal of the Publick Money.

Trusting is so hazardous a thing, that it should never be done but where it is necessary: So that when Trustees are found upon Trial to be very Lavish, even without examining into the Causes of it, (which are generally very suspicious) it is a reasonable part of preventing Wit to change Hands, or else the Chusers will pay the Penalty that belongeth to good-nature so misplaced, and the consequences will be attended with the aggravation of their not being made Wiser by such a severe and costly warning.

XIII. It would be of very great use to take a general Resolution throughout the Kingdom, That none should be chosen for a
County

County but such as have either in Possession, or Reversion, a considerable Estate in it; nor for a Borough, except he be Resiant, or that he hath some Estate in the County, in present or expectancy.

There have been Eminent Men of Law who were of Opinion, That in the Case of a Burgess of a Town not Resiant, the Court is to give Judgment according to the Statute, notwithstanding Custom to the Contrary.

But not to insist now upon that, the prudential part is Argument enough to set up a Rule to abrogate an ill Custom.

There is not, perhaps, a greater Cause of the Corruption of Parliaments, than by adopting Members, who may be said to have no Title by their Births.

The Juries are by the Law to be *Ex Vicineto*; and shall there be less care that the Representatives of the People be so too?

Sure the Interest of the County is best placed in the hands of such as have some share in it.

The Outliers are not so easily kept within the Pale of the Laws.

They are often chosen without being known, which is more like chusing Valentines, than Members of Parliament. The Mo-

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tive of their standing is more justly to be supposed, that they may Redress their own Grievances which they know, than those of the Countrey, to which they are Strangers.

They are Chosen at *London* to Serve in *Cornwall*, &c. and are often Parties, before they come to be Representatives: One would think the Reproach it is for a Countrey not to have Men within their own Circle to Serve them in Parliament should be Argument enough to reject these Trespassers, without urging the ill Consequences in other Respects of their being Admitted.

XIV. As in some Cases it is advisable to give a total Exclusion to Men not fitly Qualify'd; so in others it is more proper to lay down a General Rule of Caution, with Allowance of some Exceptions, where Men have given such Proofs of themselves, as create a right for them to be distinguish'd.

Of this nature is that which I shall say concerning Lawyers, who, by the same Reason that they may be Useful, may be also very Dangerous.

The Negligence, and want of Application in Gentlemen, hath made them to be thought more necessary than naturally they are in Parliament.

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They have not only ingrossed the Chair of the Speaker, but that of a Committee is hardly thought to be well filled, except it be by a Man of the Robe.

This maketh it worthy of the more serious Reflection of all Gentlemen, that it may be an Argument to them to qualify themselves in Parliamentary Learning, in such a manner, as that they may rely upon their own Abilities, in order to the serving their Countrey.

But to come to the Point in Question; it is not without Precedent, that Practising Lawyers have been excluded from Serving in Parliament; and without following those Patterns strictly, I cannot but think it reasonable, that whilst a Parliament Sitteth, no Member of Parliament should Plead at any Bar.

The Reason of it is in many respects strong in it self, and is grown much stronger by the long Sitting of Parliaments of late; but I will now dwell upon this: The Matter not in Question being concerning Lawyers being Elected, which I conceive should be done with so much circumspection, that probably it would not often happen.

If Lawyers have great Practice, that ought to take them up; if not, it is no great

great sign of their Ability; and at the same time giveth a Suspicion, that they may be more liable to be tempted.

If it should be so in Fact, That no King ever wanted Judges to soften the stiffness of the Laws that were made, so as to make them suit better with the Reason of State, and the Convenience of the Government; it is no Injury now to suppose it possible for Lawyers in the House of Commons, so to behave themselves in the making of New Laws, as the better to make way for the having their Robes lin'd with Fur.

They are Men used to Argue on both sides of a Question; And if ordinary Fees can inspire them with very good Reasons in a very ill Cause, that Faculty exercised in Parliaments, where it may be better encouraged, may prove very inconvenient to those that chuse them.

And therefore, without Arraigning a Profession, that it would be Scandalous for a Man not to Honour; one may, by a Suspicion, which is the more excusable when it is in the behalf of the People, imagine that the habit of taking Money for their Opinion, may create in some such a forgetfulness to distinguish, that they may take it for their Vote.

They are generally Men who by a laborious Study hope to be Advanced: They have it in their Eye as a Reward for the Toil they undergo.

This maketh them generally very slow, and ill disposed (let the Occasion never so much require it) to wrestle with that Soil where Preferment groweth.

Now if the Supposition be in it self not unreasonable, and that it should happen to be strengthen'd and confirm'd by Experience, it will be very unnecessary to say any more upon this Article, but leave it to the Electors to consider of it.

XV. I cannot forbear to put in a Caveat against Men ty'd to a Party.

There must in every Body be a Leaning to that sort of Men who profess some Principles, more than to others who go upon a different Foundation; but when a Man is drown'd in a Party, plung'd in it beyond his depth, he runneth a great hazard of being upon ill Terms with good Sense, or Morality, if not with both of them.

Such a Man can hardly be call'd a Free Agent, and for that reason is very unfit to be trusted with the Peoples Liberty, after he hath given up his own.

It is said, That in some part of the *Indies* they do so affect little Feet, that they keep them

them squeezed while they are Children, so that they stay at that small size after they are grown Men.

One may say something like this of Men Lock'd up in a Party; They put their Thoughts into such a narrow Mould, that they can never be enlarged nor released from their first Confinements.

Men in a Party have *Liberty* only for their *Motto*; in reality they are greater Slaves than any Body else would care to make them.

A Party, even in times of Peace, (tho against the Original Contract, and the Bill of Rights) sets up and continues the Exercise of Martial Law: Once Enroll'd, the Man that quirteth, if they had their Will, would be hang'd for a Deserter.

They communicate Anger to one another by Contagion: and it may be said, that if too much Light dazzleth the Eye-sight, too much Heat doth not less weaken the Judgment.

Heat reigneth in the Fancy; and Reason, which is a colder Faculty of the Brain, taketh more time to be heard, than the other will allow.

The Heat of a Party is like the Burning of a Fever; and not a Natural Warmth, evenly distributed to give Life and Vigor.

There was a time indeed when Anger shew'd a good sign of Honesty ; but that Evidence is very much weakned by Instances we have seen since the Days of Yore : And the Publick Spirited Choler hath been thrown off within time of Memory, and lost almost all its Credit with some People, since they found what Governments thought fit to make their so doing a step to their Preferment.

A strong Blustering Wind seldom continues long in one Corner.

Some Men knock loud only to be let in ; the Bustle they make is animated by their Private Interest. The outward Blaze only is for Religion and Liberty : The true lasting Fire, like that of the Vestals which never went out, is an eagerness to get something for themselves.

A House of Commons Composed of such Men, would be more properly so many Merchants Incorporated in a Regular Company, to make their particular Adventures, than Men sent from the People to Serve and Represent them.

There are some Splenetick Gentlemen who confine their favourable Opinion within so narrow a Compass, that they will not allow it to any Man that was not hanged in the late Reigns.

Now

Now by that Rule one might expect they should Rescue themselves from the Disadvantage of being now alive; and by Abdicating a World so little worthy of them, get a great Name to themselves, with the general satisfaction of all those they would leave behind them.

Among the many other ill Consequences of a stated Party, it is none of the least, that it tempteth low and insignificant Men to come upon the Stage, to expose themselves, and to spoil Business.

It turneth a Cypher into a Figure, such a one as it is: A Man in a Party is able to make a noise, let it be never so empty a sound.

A weak Man is easily blown out of his small Senses, by being Muster'd into a Party; he is flatter'd till he liketh himself so well, that he taketh it extremely ill if he hath not an Employment.

Nothing is more in Fashion, than for Men to desire good Places, and I doubt nothing is less so than to deserve them.

From Nobody to Somebody is such a violent stride, that Nature, which hath the Negative Voice, will not give its Royal Assent to it; So that when insufficient Men aim at being in Business, the worst of their Enemies might out of Malice to them, Pray for their Preferment.

There could be no end, if one did not stop till this Theme had no more matter to furnish. I will only say, Nothing is more evident, than that the Good of the Nation hath been Sacrificed to the Animosities of the several Contending Parties; and without entering into the Dispute which of them are more or less in the right, it is pretty sure, that whilst these Opposite Sets of Angry Men are playing at Foot-ball, they will break all the Windows, and do more hurt than their pretended Zeal for the Nation will ever make amends for.

In short, a Man so engaged is retained before the People take him for their Council; he hath such a Reverse for his Party, that it is not advisable for those who would chuse him to depend upon his Professions. All Parties Assuming such a Dispensing Power, that by their Sovereign Authority they Cancel and Dissolve any Act or Promise that they do not afterwards approve.

These things considered, those who will chuse such Men deserve whatever followeth.

XVI. Pretenders to Exorbitant Merit in the late Revolution, are not without Objections against them, when they stand to serve in Parliament. It would not only be

a low, but a Criminal kind of Envy, to deny a distinguishing Justice to Men who have been Instrumental and Active, when the Service of their Country requir'd it. But there ought to be Moderation in Men's Claims, or else it is out of the Power of our poor Island to satisfy them. It is true, Service of all kinds is grown much dearer, like Labourers Wages, which formerly occasioned several Statutes to Regulate them.

But now the Men who only carried Mortar to the Building, when it is Finished, think they are ill dealt with if they are not made Master-Workmen.

They presently cry out, the Original Contract is broken, if their Merit is not rewarded, at their own Rate too.

Some will think there never ought to be an end of their Rewards ; when indifferent Judges would perhaps be puzzled to find out the beginning of their Merit.

They bring in such large Bills, that they must be Examined : Some Bounds must be put to Men's Pretensions ; else the Nation, which is to pay the Reckoning, will every way think it a scurvy thing to be undone, whether it be by being over-run by our Enemies, or by the being exhausted by our Friends.

There

There ought therefore to be deductions where they are reasonable, the better to justify the paying what remaineth.

For Example, if any of these Passionate Lovers of the Protestant Religion should not think fit in their manner of Living, to give the least Evidence of their Morality, their Claims upon that Head might sure be struck off without any Injustice to them.

If there are any who set down great Sums as a Reward due to their Zeal for Rescuing Property from the Jaws of Arbitrary Power; their Pretensions may fairly be Rejected, if now they are so far from shewing a Care and Tenderness of the Laws, that they look rather like Counsel Retained on the Other side.

It is no less Strange, than I doubt it is True, that some Men should be so in Love with their dear Mistress *Old England*, with all her Wrinkles, as out of an Heroick Passion, to Swim over to Rescue Her from being Ravish'd; and when they have done the Feat, the first thing after Enjoyment is, that they go about to Strangle Her.

For the sake of true Love, it is not fit that such ungentle Gallants should be too much encourag'd; and their Arrogance for having done well at first, will have no right

to be excused, if their so doing ill at last doth not make them a little more Modest.

True Merit, like a River, the deeper it is, the less noise it makes.

These loud Proclaimers of their own Deserts, are not only to be suspected for their Truth, but the Electors are to consider that such Meritorious Men lay an Assessment upon those that Chuse them.

The Publick Taxes are already heavy enough without the addition of these private Reekonings. It is therefore the safer way, not to employ Men, who will expect more for their Wages, than the mistaken Borough that sendeth them up to Parliament could be sold for.

XVII. With all due Regard to the Noblest of Callings, Military Officers are out of their true Element when they are misplaced in a House of Commons.

Things in this World ought to be well suited. There are some Appearances so unnatural, that Men are convinc'd by them without any other Argument.

The very Habit in some Cases, recommendeth or giveth Offence.

If the Judges upon the Bench should, instead of their Furs, which signify Gravity, and bespeak Respect, be Cloathed like the Jockeys at *New-Market*, or wear Jack-Boots
and

and *Steenkirks*; they would not in Reality have less Law, but Mankind would be so struck with this unusual Object, that it would be a great while before they could think it possible to receive Justice from Men so Accouter'd.

It is to some degree the same thing in this Case; such Martial Habits, Blue-Coats, Red-Stockings, &c. make them look very unlike Grave Senators. One would almost Swear they were Creatures apart, and of a different Species from the rest of the Body.

In former times, when only the Resiant Shopkeeper was to Represent his Corporation (which by the way is the Law still at this day) the Military looks of one of these Sons of *Mars*, would have stared the Quaking Member down again to his Borough.

Now the Number of them is so encreased, that the Peaceable part of the House may lawfully Swear they are in fear of their Lives, from such an Awful Appearance of Men of War.

It maketh the Room look like a Guard-House by such an ill-suited Mixture. But this is only the out-side, the Barque of the Argument; the root goeth yet deeper against Chusing such Men, whose Talents ought to be otherwise applied. Their

Their Two Capacities are so inconsistent, that Mens undertaking to serve both the Cures, will be the Cause in a little time, that we shall neither have Men of War, nor Men of Business, good in their several kinds.

An Officer is to give up his Liberty to obey Orders; and it is necessarily incident to his Calling that he should do so.

A Member of Parliament is Originally to be tender of his own Liberty, that other Men may the better trust him with theirs.

An Officer is to enable himself by his Courage, improved by Skill and Experience, to support the Laws (if Invaded) when they are made; but he is not supposed to be at leisure enough to understand how they should be made.

A Member of Parliament is to fill his thoughts with what may best conduce to the Civil Administration; which is enough to take up the whole Man, let him be never so much raised above the ordinary Level.

These two opposite Qualifications, being placed in one Man, make him such an ambiguous divided Creature, that he doth not know how to move.

It is best to keep Men within their proper Sphere; few Men have understanding enough

enough exactly to fill even one narrow Circle, fewer are able to fill two; especially when they are both of so great compass, and that they are so contrary in their own Natures.

The Wages he hath as a Member, and those he receiveth as an Officer, are paid for Services that are very differing; and in the doubt which of them should be preferably performed, it is likely the greater Salary may direct him, without the further Inducements of Complying most, where he may expect most Advantage by it.

In short, if his dependance is not very great, it will make him a Scurvy Officer; if it is great, it will make him a Scurvier Member.

XVIII. Men under the Scandal of being thought Private Pensioners, are too fair a Mark to escape being consider'd, in reference to the Point in Question.

In case of plain Evidence, it is not to be supposed possible, that Men Convicted of such a Crime should ever again be Elected.

The difficulty is in determining what is to be done in case of Suspicion.

There are Suspicions so well grounded, that they may pretend to have the force of Proofs, provided the Penalty goeth only

to the forbearing to Trust, but not extending it so far as to Punish.

There must be some things plain and express to justify the latter, but Circumstances may be sufficient for the former: As where Men have had such sudden Cures of their Ill-Humours, and Opposition to the Court, that it is out of the way of ordinary methods of recovery from such Distempers, which have a much slower progress; it must naturally be imputed to some Specifick that maketh such a quick alteration of the whole Mass of Blood.

Where Men have raised their way of Living, without any visible means to Support them in it, a Suspicion is justified, even by the Example of the Law, which in Cases of this kind, though of an inferior Nature, doth upon this Foundation, not only raise Inferences, but Inflict Punishments.

Where Men are Immoral, and Scandalous in their Lives, and dispense familiarly with the Rules by which the World is Govern'd, for the better preserving the Bonds of Human Society; it must be a Confidence very ill placed, to conclude it impossible for such Men to yield to a Temptation well offer'd and pursu'd; when, the truth is, the habit of such *Bons vivants*, which is the fashionable Word, maketh a Suspicion so likely,

likely, that it is very hard not to believe it to be true.

If there should be nothing but the general Report, even that is not to be neglected.

Common Fame is the only Lyar that deserveth to have some respect still reserv'd to it; tho she telleth many an Untruth, she often hits right, and most especially when she speaketh ill of Men.

Her Credit hath sometimes been carried too far, when it hath gone to the Divesting Men of any thing of which they were Possess'd, without more exprefs evidence to justify such a Proceeding.

If there was a doubt whether there ever was any Corruption of this kind it would alter the Question; but sure that will not bear the being controverted.

We are told, That *Charles* the Fifth sent over into *England* 1200000 Crowns to be distributed amongst the Leading Men, to encourage them to carry on Elections.

Here was the Protestant Religion to be bought out for a valuable Consideration according to Law, though not according to Gospel, which exalteth it above any Price that can be set upon it.

Now, except we had reason to believe that the Virtue of the World is improv'd since that time, we can as little doubt that
such

such Temptations may be offered, as that they may be received.

It will be owned, that there is to be a great tenderness in Suspecting; but it must be allow'd at the same time, that there ought not to be less in Trusting, where the People are so much concern'd; especially, when the Penalty upon the Party suspected goeth no further than a Suspension of that Confidence, which it is necessary to have in those who are to represent the Nation in Parliament.

I cannot omit the giving a caution against admitted Men to be Chosen who have Places of any value.

There needeth the less to be said upon this Article, the truth of the Proposition being supported by such plain Arguments.

Sure no Man hath such a plentiful Spring of Thought, as that all that floweth from it is too much to be applied to the Business of Parliament.

It is not less sure, that a Member of Parliament, of all others, ought not to be exempted from the Rule, That no Man should serve two Masters.

It doth so split a Man's Thoughts, that no Man can know how to make a fitting Distribution of them to two such differing Capacities.

It exposeth Men to be suspected, and tempted, more than is convenient for the Publick Service, or for the mutual good Opinion of one another, which there ought to be in such an Assembly.

It either giveth a real dependance upon the Government, which is inconsistent with the necessity there is, that a Member of Parliament should be disengaged; or at least it hath the appearance of it, which maketh them not look like Freemen, though they should have Virtue enough to be so.

More Reasons would lessen the Weight of this last, which is, That a Bill to this effect, commonly called the *Self-denying Bill*, pass'd even this last House of Commons.

A greater Demonstration of the irresistible strength of Truth cannot possibly be given; so that a Copy of that Bill in every County or Borough, would hardly fail of discouraging such Pretenders from Standing, or at least it would prevent their Success if their own Modesty should not restrain them from attempting it.

XX. If Distinctions may be made upon particular Men, or Remarks fix'd upon their Votes in Parliament, they must be allow'd in relation to those Gentlemen, who for Reasons best known to themselves thought fit to be against the *Triennial Bill*.

The

The Liberty of Opinion is the thing in the World that ought least to be controll'd, and especially in Parliament.

But as that is an undoubted Assertion, it is not less so, That when Men Sin against their own Light, give a Vote against their own Thought, they must not Plead Privilege of Parliament against the being Arraigned for it by others, after they are Convicted of it by themselves.

There cannot be a Man, who in his Definition of a House of Commons, will state it to be an Assembly, that for the better redressing of Grievances the People feel, and for the better furnishing such Supplies as they can bear, is to continue, if the King so pleaseth, for his whole Reign.

This could be as little intended, as to throw all into one Hand, and to renounce the Claim to any Liberty, but so much as the Sovereign Authority would allow.

It destroyeth the end of Parliaments, it maketh use of the Letter of the Law to extinguish the Life of it.

It is, in truth, some kind of Disparagement to so plain a thing, that so much has been said and written upon it; and one may say, It is such an Affront to these Gentlemen's Understandings to censure this Vote only as a Mistake, that, as the Age goeth,

it is less Discredit to them to call it by its right Name ; and if that is rightly understood by those who are to Choose them, I suppose they will let them exercise their Liberty of Conscience at Home, and not make Men their Trustees, who in this Solemn Instance have such an unwillingness to Surrender.

It must be own'd, That this Bill hath met with very hard Fortune, and yet that doth not in the least diminish the Value of it.

It had in it such a Root of Life, that it might be said, It was not Dead, but Slept ; and we see that the last Session, it was revived, and animated by the Royal Assent, when once fully inform'd of the Consequence, as well as of the Justice of it.

In the mean time, after having told my Opinion, Who ought not to be Chosen.

If I should be asked, Who ought to be, my Answer must be, Chuse *English-men* ; and when I have said that, to deal Honestly, I will not undertake that they are easie to be found.

A
Rough Draught
O F A
NEW MODEL
A T
S E A,
1694.

L O N D O N:

Printed in the Year 1704.

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Will make no other introduction to
the following Discharge, than that as
the importance of our being strong at
sea, was ever very great, to our pro-
per Circumstances it is now to be much
greater; because, at formerly our force of
Shipping

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A

Rough Draught

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NEW MODEL

A T

S E A, 1694.

I Will make no other Introduction to the following Discourse, than that as the Importance of our being strong at *Sea*, was ever very great, so in our present Circumstances it is grown to be much greater ; because, as formerly our Force of

X 4

Shipping

Shipping contributed greatly to our *Trade* and *Safety*. So, now it is become indispensibly necessary to our very *Being*.

It may be said now to *England, Martha, Martha*, thou art busie about many things, but one thing is necessary to the *Question*, What shall we do to be Saved in this *World*? There is no other Answer but this, Look to your *Moat*.

The first Article of an *English-man's* Political Creed must be, That he believeth in the *Sea, &c.* without that there needed no General Council to pronounce him capable of *Salvation* here.

We are in an *Island* confin'd to it by *God Almighty*, not as a *Penalty* but a *Grace*, and one of the greatest that can be given to *Mankind*. Happy *Confinement* that has made us *Free, Rich, and Quiet*; a fair *Portion* in this *World*, and very well worth the *Preserving*, a *Figure* that ever hath been *envied*, and could never be *imitated* by our *Neighbours*. Our *Situation* hath made *Greatness* abroad by *Land Conquests* unnatural things to us. It is true, we made *Excursions*, and *Glorious* ones too, which make our *Names Great* in *History*, but they did not last.

Admit the *English* to be *Giants* in *Courage*, yet they must not hope to *Succeed* in making

making War against Heaven, which seemeth to have enjoyned them to acquiesce in being happy within their own Circle. It is no Paradox to say, that *England* hath its Root in the Sea, and a deep one too, from whence it sendeth its Branches into both the *Indies*. We may say further in our present Case, That if *Allegiance* is due to *Protection*, ours to the Sea is due from that Rule, since by that, and by that alone, we are to be protected; and if we have of late suffered Usurpation of other Methods, contrary to the Homage we owe to that which must preserve us. It is time now to restore the Sea to its Right; and as there is no Repentance effectual without Amendment, so there is not a Moment to be lost in their going about it.

It is not pretended to launch into such a Voluminous Treatise, as to set down every thing to which so comprehensive a Subject might lead me; for as the Sea hath little less Variety in it than the Land; so the Naval Force of *England* extendeth it self into a great many Branches, each of which are important enough to require a Discourse apart, and peculiarly applied to it; But there must be preference to some Consideration above others, when the weight of them is so visibly Superior that
it

it cannot be contested. It is there, first, that the Foundations are to be laid of our Naval Oeconomy; amongst these, there is one Article which in its own Nature must be allowed to be the Corner-stone of the Building.

The Choice of *Officers*, with the *Discipline* and *Encouragement* belonging to them. Upon this Head only, I shall then take the Liberty to venture my Opinion into the World, with a real Submission to those, who may offer any thing better for the advantage of the Publick.

The first Question then will be, Out of what sort of Men the *Officers* of the *Fleet* are to be Chosen; and this immediately leadeth us to the present Controversie between the *Gentlemen* and the *Tarpaulins*.

The usual Objections on both sides are too general to be rely'd upon. Partiality and Common Prejudices direct most Mens Opinions, without entring into the particular Reasons which ought to be the ground of it. There is so much ease in acquiescing in Generals, that the Ignorance of those who cannot distinguish, and the Largeness of those who will not, maketh Men very apt to decline the trouble of stricter Enquiries, which they think too great a price for

for being in the right, let it be never so valuable.

This maketh them judge in the Lump, and either let their Opinions swim along with the Stream of the World, or give them up wholly to be directed by Success. The Effect of this is, that they change their Minds upon every present uneasiness, wanting a steady Foundation upon which their Judgment should be formed. This is a Pearching upon the Twigs of things, and not going to the Root. But sure the Matter in question deserveth to be examined in another manner, since so much dependeth upon it.

To state the thing impartially, it must be owned that it seemeth to lye fairest for the *Tarpaulin*: It giveth an Impression that must have so much weight as to make a Man's Opinion lean very much on that side, it carrieth so much Authority with it, seemeth to be so unquestionable, that those are fittest to Command at Sea, who have not only made it their *Calling*, but their *Element*; that there must naturally be a Prejudice to any thing that can be said against it. There must therefore be some Reason extraordinary to support the Argument on the other side, or else the Gentlemen could never Enter the Lists against

against such a violent Objection, which seemeth not to be resisted. I will introduce my Argument with an Assertion, which as I take to be true almost in all Cases, so it is necessary to be explained and enforced in this. The *Assertion* is, that there is hardly a single Proposition to be made, which is not deceitful, and the tying our Reason too close to it, may in many Cases be Destructive. Circumstances must come in, and are to be made a part of the matter of which we are to judge; positive *Decisions* are always Dangerous, more especially in *Politicks*. A Man, who will be Master of an Argument, must do like a skilful General, who sendeth Scouts on all sides, to see whether there may not be an Enemy. So he must look round to see what Objections can be made, and not go on in a streight Line, which is the ready way to lead him into a mistake.

Before then, that we conclude what sort of Men are fittest to Command at Sea, a Principle is to be laid down, that there is a differing Consideration to be had of such a Subject-matter, as is in it self distinct and independent, and of such a one as being a Limb of a Body, or a Wheel of a Frame, there is a necessity of suiting it to the rest, and

and preserving the Harmony of the whole. A Man must not in that Case restrain himself to the seperate Consideration of that single Part, but must take care it may fall in and agree with the Shape of the whole Creature, of which it is a Member. According to this Proposition, which I take to be indisputable, it will not, I hope, appear an Affectation, or an Extravagant Fit of unseasonable Politicks, if, before I enter into the particular State of the present Question, I say something of the Government of *England*, and make that the Ground work of what sort of Men are most proper to be made use of to Command at Sea.

The Forms of Government to which *England* must be Subjected, are either *Absolute Monarchy*, a *Commonwealth*, or a *Mixt Monarchy*, as it is now; with those natural Alterations that the Exigency of Affairs may from time to time suggest. As to Absolute Monarchy, I will not allow my self to be transported into such Invectives, as are generally made against it; neither am I ready to enter into the aggravating Stile of calling every thing *Slavery*, that restraineth Men in any part of their Freedom: One may discern in this, as in most other things, the good and bad of it. We see by too near an Instance, what *France* doth

doth by it; it doth not only struggle with the rest of *Christendom*, but is in a fair way of giving Law to it.

This is owing in great Measure to a *Despotick* and Undivided Power; the uncontrollable Authority of the Directive Councils maketh every thing move without Disorder or Opposition, which must give an advantage, that is plain enough of it self, without being proved by the Melancholy Experience we have of it at this time.

I see and admire this; yet I consider at the same time, that all things of this kind are comparative: That as on one side, without *Government* Men cannot enjoy what belongeth to them in particular, nor can a Nation be secure, or preserve it self in general: So on the other side, the end of *Government* being, that Mankind should live in some competent State of Freedom, it is very unnatural to have the *End* destroyed by the *Means* that were originally made use of to attain it. In this respect, something is to be ventured, rather than submit to such a precarious State of Life as would make it a Burthen to a reasonable Creature; and therefore, after I have owned the Advantages in some kind of an unlimited Government; yet, while they are attended

attended with so many other discouraging Circumstances, I cannot think but that they may be bought too dear; and if it should be so, that it is not possible for a State to be *Great and Glorious*, unless the Subjects are *wretchedly Miserable*. I am ashamed to own my Low-spirited Frailty, in preferring such a Model of Government, as may agree with the reasonable Enjoyment of a *Free People*, before such a one, by which Empire is to be Extended at such an unnatural Price. Besides whatever Mens Opinions may be one way or another, in the general Question, there is an Argument in our Case that shutteth the Door to any Answer to it. (*Viz.*) We cannot subsist under a *Despotick Power*, our very Being would be Destroyed by it; for we are to consider, we are a very little Spot in the Map of the World, and make a great Figure only by *Trade*, which is the Creature of Liberty; one destroyed, the other falleth to the Ground by a natural Consequence, that will not admit a Dispute. If we would be measured by our Acres, we are poor inconsiderable People; we are exalted above our natural Bounds, by our good Laws, and our excellent Constitution. By this we are not only happy at Home, but considerable Abroad. Our Situation,

tuation, our Humour, our Trade, do all concur to strengthen this Argument. So that all other Reasons must give place to such a one as maketh it out, that there is no Mean between a *Free Nation* and *No Nation*.

We are no more a People, nor *England* can no longer keep its Name from the moment that our Liberties are extinguish'd; the Vital Strength that should support us being withdrawn, we should then be no more than the Carcass of a Nation, with no other Security than that of *Contempt*; and to subsist upon no other Tenure, than that we should be below the giving Temptation to our stronger Neighbours to devour us. In my Judgment, therefore, there is such a short decision to be made upon this Subject, that in Relation to *England*, an *Absolute Monarchy* is as an unreasonable thing to be wished, as I hope it will be impossible to be obtained.

It must be considered in the next place, whether *England* likely is to be turn'd into a Commonwealth. It is hard at any time to determine what will be the Shape of the next Revolution, much more at this time would it be inexcusably Arrogant to undertake it. Who can foresee whether it will be from without, or from within, or

from

from both? Whether with or without the Concurrence of the People? Whether regularly produced, or violently imposed? I shall not therefore *Magisterially* declare it impossible that a *Commonwealth* should be settled here; but I may give my humble Opinion, that according to all appearances, it is very improbable.

I will first lay it down for a Principle, That it is not a sound way of arguing, to say, That if it can be made out, that the Form of a *Commonwealth* will best suit with the Interest of the Nation, it must for that reason of necessity prevail.

I will not deny but that *Interest* will not lie, is a right *Maxim*, wherever it is sure to be understood; else one had as good affirm, That no Man in particular, nor Mankind in general, can ever be mistaken. A Nation is a great while before they can see, and generally they must feel first before their Sight is quite cleared. This *maketh* it so long before they can see their *Interest*, that for the most part it is too late for them to pursue it: If Men must be supposed always to follow their true *Interest*, it must be meant of a New Manufactory of Mankind by God Almighty; there must be some new *Clay*, the old *Stuff* never yet made any such Infallible Creature.

Y

This

This being Premis'd, it is to be enquired, Whether instead of Inclination, or a Leaning towards a *Common-wealth*, there is not in *England* a General Dislike to it; if this be so, as I take it to be, by a very great disparity in Numbers; it will be in vain to dispute the *Reason*, whilst *Humour* is against it; allowing the weight that is due to the Argument, which may be alledged for it; yet, if the *Herd* is against it, the going about to convince them, would have no other effect than to shew that nothing can be more impertinent than good *Reasons*, when they are misplaced or ill-timed.

I must observe, That there must be some previous Dispositions in all great Changes to facilitate and to make way for them: I think it not at all absurd, if I affirm, That such Resolutions are seldom made at all, except by the general Preparations of Mens Minds they are half made before, and it is plainly visible, that Men go about them.

Though it seemeth to me that the Argument alone maketh all others unnecessary, yet I must take notice that besides what hath been said upon this Subject, there are certain Preliminaries to the first Building a *Commonwealth*. Some Materials absolutely necessary for the carrying on such a *Fabrick*, which at present are wanting amongst us,

I mean

I mean *Virtue, Morality, Diligence*, or at least *Hypocrisie*. Now this Age is so plain dealing, as not to Dissemble so far as to an outward Pretence of *Qualities* which seem at present so *Unfashionable*, and under so much Discountenance.

From whence we may draw a plain and natural Inference, That a *Commonwealth* is not fit for us, because we are not fit for a *Commonwealth*.

This being granted, the Supposition of this Form of Government of *England*, with all its Consequences as to the present Question, must be excluded, and *Absolute Monarchy* having been so too by the Reasons at once alledged, it will without further Examination fall to a *Mixt Government*, as we now are. I will not say, that there is never to be any Alteration; the Constitution of the several Parts that concur to make up the Frame of the Present Government, may be altered in many things, in some for the better, and in others, perhaps for the worse, according as Circumstances shall arise to induce a *Change*; and as Passion and Interest shall have more or less Influence upon the Publick Councils; but still, if it remaineth in the whole so far as a *mixt Monarchy*, that there shall be a restraint upon the *Prince*, as to the Exercise

of a *Despotick Power*, it is enough to make it a Groundwork for the present Question. It appeareth then that a *bounded Monarchy* is that kind of Government which will most probably prevail and continue in *England*; from whence it must follow (as hath been hinted before) that every considerable Part ought to be so Composed, as the better to conduce to the preserving the Harmony of the whole Constitution. The *Navy* is of so great Importance, that it would be disparaged by calling it less than the *Life and Soul of Government*.

Therefore to apply the Argument to the Subject we are upon; in Case the *Officers* be all *Tarpaulins*, it would be in reality too great a tendency to a *Commonwealth*; such a part of the Constitution being *Democratically* disposed, may be suspected to endeavour to bring it into that shape; where the Influence must be so strong, and the Supposition will be the more justifiable. In short, if the *Maritim Force*, which is the only thing that can defend us, should be wholly directed by the lower sort of Men, with an entire Exclusion of the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, it will not be easie to answer the Arguments supported by so great a probability, that such a Scheme would not only lean towards a *Democracy*, but directly lead us into it.

Let

Let us now examine the contrary Proposition, (*viz.*) *That all Officers should be Gentlemen.*

Here the Objection lieth so fair of its Introducing an *Arbitrary Government*, that it is as little to be answered in that respect, as the former is in the other. *Gentlemen* in a general Definition, will be suspected to lie more than other Men under the Temptations of being made Instruments of unlimited Power; their Relations, their way of Living, their Taste of the Entertainments of the *Court*, inspire an Ambition that generally draweth their Inclinations toward it, besides the gratifying of their Interests. Men of Quality are often taken with the Ornaments of Government, the Splendor dazleth them so, as that their Judgments are surprized by it; and there will be always some that have so little remorse for invading other Men's Liberties, that it maketh them less solicitous to preserve their own.

These things throw them naturally into such a dependance as might give a dangerous Bias; if they alone were in Command at Sea, it would make that great Wheel turn by an irregular Motion, and instead of being the chief means of preserving the whole Frame,

Frame, might come to be the chief Instruments to discompose and dissolve it.

The two further exclusive Propositions being necessarily to be excluded in this Question, there remaineth no other Expedient; neither can any other Conclusion be drawn from the Argument as it hath been stated, than that there must be a mixture in the Navy of *Gentlemen* and *Tarpaulins*, as there is in the Constitution of the Government, of *Power* and *Liberty*. This Mixture is not to be so rigorously defined, as to set down the exact Proportion there is to be of each; the greater or lesser Number must be directed by Circumstances, of which the Government is to Judge, and which makes it improper to set such Bounds as that upon no occasion it shall on either side be lessened or enlarged. It is possible the Men of *Wapping* may think they are injur'd, by giving them any Partners in the Dominion of the *Sea*; they may take it unkindly to be Jostled in their own *Element* by Men of such a different Education, that they may be said to be of another Species; they will be apt to think it an Usurpation upon them, and notwithstanding the Instances that are against them, and which give a kind of Prescription on the other

side;

side, they will not easily acquiesce in what they conceive to be a hardship to them.

But I shall in a good measure reconcile my self to them by what follows ; (*viz.*) The *Gentlemen* shall not be capable of bearing Office at *Sea*, except they be *Tarpaulins* too ; that is to say, except they are so trained up by a continued habit of living at *Sea*, that they may have a right to be admitted free *Denizens* of *Wapping*. Upon this dependeth the whole Matter ; and indeed here lieth the difficulty, because the *Gentlemen* brought up under the Connivance of a looser Discipline, and of an easier admittance, will take it heavily to be reduced within the *Fetters* of such a *New Model* ; and I conclude, they will be extremely averse to that which they call an unreasonable Yoke upon them, that their Original Consent is never to be expected. But if it appeareth to be convenient, and which is more, that it is necessary for the Preservation of the whole, that it should be so ; the Government must be call'd in Aid to suppress these first Boilings of Discontent ; the Rules must be imposed with such Authority, and the Execution of them must be so well supported, that by degrees their Impatience will be Subdued, and they will concur

in an Establishment to which they will every day be more reconciled.

They will find it will take away the Objections which are now thrown upon them, of setting up for Masters without having ever been Apprentices; or at least, without having served out their Time.

Mankind naturally swelleth against Favour and Partiality; their belief of their own Merit maketh Men object them to a prosperous Competitor, even when there is no pretence for it; but when there is the least handle offered, to be sure it will be taken. So, in this Case, when a *Gentleman* is preferr'd at Sea, the *Tarpaulin* is very apt to impute it to Friend or Favour: But if that *Gentleman* hath before his Preferment passed through all the Steps which lead to it, that he smelleth as much of *Pitch* and *Tar*, as those that were *Swaddled* in *Sail-cloath*; his having an *Escutcheon* will be so far from doing him harm, that it will set him upon the advantage Ground: It will draw a real Respect to his Quality when so supported, and give him an Influence and Authority infinitely superior to that which the *meer Seamen* can never pretend to.

When

When a Gentleman hath learned how to Obey, he will grow very much fitter to Command; his own Memory will advise him not to inflict too rigorous Punishments. He will better resist the Temptations of Authority (which are great) when he reflecteth how much he hath at other times wished it might be gently exercised, when he was liable to the Rigor of it.

When the undistinguish'd Discipline of a Ship hath tamed the young Mastership, which is apt to arise from a Gentleman's Birth and Education; He then groweth Proud in the right place, and valueth himself first upon knowing his Duty, and then upon doing it.

In plain English, Men of Quality in their several Degrees must either restore themselves to a better Opinion, both for Morality and Diligence, or else Quality it self will be in danger of being extinguished.

The Original Gentleman is almost lost in strictness, when Posterity doth not still further adorn by their Virtue the Escutcheon their Ancestors first got for them by their Merit; they deserve the Penalty of being deprived of it.

To expect that Quality alone should waite Men up into Places and Employments, is as unreasonable, as to think that a Ship, because

because it is Carved and Gilded, should be fit to go to *Sea* without *Sails* or *Tackling*. But when a *Gentleman* maketh no other use of his *Quality*, than to incite him the more to his *Duty*, it will give such a true and settled *Superiority*, as must destroy all Competition from those that are below him.

It is time now to go to the Probationary Qualifications of an *Officer* at *Sea*: And I have some to offer, which I have digested in my Thoughts, I hope Impartially, that they may not be Speculative Notions, but things easie and practicable, if the directing Powers will give due Countenance and Encouragement to the Execution of them: But whilst I am going about to set them down, though this little *Essay* was made to no other End, than to introduce them, I am upon better Recollection, induced to put a restraint upon my self, and rather retract the Promise I made at the beginning, than by advising the particular Methods, by which I conceive the good *End* that is aimed at may be obtained, to incur the Imputation of the thing of the World, of which I would least be guilty, which is of anticipating, by my private Opinion, the Judgment of the Parliament, or seeming out of my slender Stock of Reason to dictate to the Supream Wisdom of the Nation.

tion. They will, no doubt, consider the present Establishments for *Discipline at Sea*, which are many of them very good, and if well executed, might go a great way in the present Question. But I will not say they are so perfect, but that other may be added to make them more effectual, and that some more Supplemental Expedients may be necessary to compleat what is yet defective: And whenever the *Parliament* shall think fit to take this Matter into their Consideration, I am sure they will not want for their Direction, the Auxiliary Reasons of any Man without Doors, much less of one, whose Thoughts are so entirely and unaffectedly resigned to whatever they shall determine in this, or any thing else relating to the Publick.

MAXIMS

MAXIMS

OF

STATE

By a late Person of Honour.



LONDON

Printed in the Year 1703

MAXIMS

O F

STATE.

By a late Person of Honour.



L O N D O N:

Printed in the Year 1704.

MAXIMS

OF

STATE.

1. **T**HAT a Prince who falleth out with *Laws*, breaketh with his best *Friends*.

2. That the exalting his own *Authority* above his *Laws*, is like letting in his *Enemy* to Surprize his *Guards*. The *Laws* are the only *Guards* he can be sure will never run away from him.

3. A *Prince* that will say he can do no Good, except he may do every thing; teacheth the People to say, They are *Slaves*, if they must not do whatever they have a mind to.

4. That

4. That *Power* and *Liberty* are like *Heat* and *Moisture*; where they are well mixt, every thing prospers; where they are single, they are destructive.

5. That *Arbitrary Power* is like most other things, that are very hard, they are also very apt to break.

6. That the Profit of Places should be measured as they are more or less conducing to the *Publick Service*; and if Business is more necessary than Splendor, the Instrument of it ought in Proportion to be better paid; that the contrary Method is as impertinent, as it would be to let the Carving of a Ship cost more than all the rest of it.

7. That where the least useful part of the People have the most Credit with the *Prince*, Men will conclude, That the way to get every thing, is to be good for nothing.

8. That an extravagant Gift to one Man, raiseth the Market to every body else; so that in consequence, the unlimited Bounty of an unthinking Prince maketh him a *Beggar*, let him have never so much *Money*.

9. That if ordinary Beggars are *Whipp'd*, the daily Beggars in fine Cloaths (out of a proportionable Respect to their *Quality*) ought to be *Hang'd*.

10. That

10. That *Pride* is as loud a Beggar as Want, and a great deal more Sawcy.

11. That a *Prince*, who will give more to Importunity than Merit, had as good set out a Proclamation to all his Loving Subjects, forbidding them to do well, upon the Penalty of being undone by it.

12. That a wise *Prince* will not oblige his *Courtiers*, who are *Birds of Prey*, so as to disoblige his *People*, who are *Beasts of Burthen*.

13. That it is safer for a *Prince* to Judge of Men by what they do to one another, than that they do to him.

14. That it is a gross Mistake to think, That a Knave between Man and Man, can be honest to a King, whom of all other Men generally they make the least Scruple to deceive.

15. That a *Prince* who can ever trust the Man that hath once deceived him, loseth the Right of being Faithfully dealt with by any other Person.

16. That it is not possible for a *Prince* to find out such an *Honest Knave*, as will let no body else Cheat him.

17. That if a *Prince* does not shew an Aversion to Knaves, there will be an Inference that will be very Natural, let it be never so Unmannerly.

Z

18. That

18. That a *Prince* who followeth his own Opinion too soon, is in danger of repenting it too late.

19. That it is less Dangerous for a *Prince* to mind too much what the *People* say, than too little.

20. That the *Prince* is to take care that the greater part of the *People* may not be angry at the same time; for though the first beginning of their *Ill Humour* should be against one another, yet if not stoppt, it will naturally end in *Anger* against him.

21. That if *Princes* would *Reflect* how much they are in the Power of their *Ministers*, they would be more circumspect in the *Choice* of them.

22. That a wise *Prince* will support good Servants against Men's Anger, and not support ill ones against their Complaint.

23. That *Parties* in a State generally, like *Free-booters*, hang out *False Colours*; the pretence is the *Publick Good*; the real *Business* is, to catch *Prizes*; like the *Tartars*, where ever they succeed, instead of Improving their *Victory*, they presently fall upon the *Baggage*.

24. That a *Prince* may play so long between *Two Parties*, that they may in time joyn together, and be in earnest with him.

25. That

25. That there is more *Dignity* in open *Violence*, than in the unskilful *Cunning* of a *Prince*, who goeth about to *Impose* upon the *People*.

26. That the *People* will ever suspect the *Remedies* for the *Diseases* of the *State*, where they are wholly excluded from seeing how they are prepared.

27. That changing *Hands* without changing *Measures*, is as if a *Drunkard* in a *Dropsey* should change his *Doctors* and not his *Dyet*.

28. That a *Prince* is to watch that his *Reason* may not be so subdued by his *Nature*, as not to be so much a *Man* of *Peace*, as to be a *Jest* in an *Army*; nor so much a *Man* of *War*, as to be out of his *Element* in his *Council*.

29. That a *Man* who cannot mind his own *Business*, is not to be trusted with the *King's*.

30. That *Quality* alone should only serve to make a shew in the Embroidered part of the *Government*; but that *Ignorance*, though never so well born, should never be admitted to spoil the *Publick Business*.

31. That he who thinks his *Place* below him, will certainly be below his *Place*.

32. That when *Princes Examples* ceaseth to have the force of a *Law*, it is a sure

sign that his Power is wasting, and that there is but little distance between Men's neglecting to Imitate, and their refusing to Obey.

33. That a People may let a King fall, yet still remain a People; but if a King let his People slip from him, he is no longer King.

A LETTER

*A Letter sent by his Lordship
to Charles Cotton, Esquire,
upon his New Translation and
Dedication of Montaigne's
Essays.*

S I R,

I Have too long delay'd my *Thanks* to you for giving me such an obliging *Evidence* of your *Remembrance*: That alone would have been a welcome *Present*, but when joyn'd with the *Book* in the World I am the best entertain'd with, it raiseth a strong desire in me to be better *known*, where I am sure to be so much *pleased*. I have till now thought *Wit* could not be *Translated*, and do still retain so much of that *Opinion*, that I believe it impossible, except by one whose *Genius* cometh up to that of the *Author*. You have so kept the *Original Strength* of his *Thought*, that it almost tempts a Man to believe the *Transmigration* of *Souls*, and that his being us'd to *Hills*, is come into the *Moor-Lands* to Reward us here in *England*, for doing him

more Right than his Country will afford him. He hath by your means mended his *First Edition*: To transplant and make him ours, is not only a Valuable *Acquisition* to us, but a Just *Censure* of the Critical *Impertinence* of those *French Scriblers* who have taken pains to make little *Cavils* and *Exceptions*, to lessen the Reputation of this Great Man, whom Nature hath made too big to Confine himself to the Exactness of a Studied Stile. He let his *Mind* have its full *Flight*, and sheweth by a generous kind of *Negligence* that he did not Write for Praise, but to give to the World a true Picture of himself and of Mankind. He Scorned *Affected Periods*, or to please the mistaken Reader with an empty *Chime* of Words. He hath no *Affectation* to set himself out, and dependeth wholly upon the *Natural Force* of what is his own, and the Excellent Application of what he borroweth.

You see, Sir, I have kindness enough for *Monsieur de Montaigne* to be your *Rival*, but no body can pretend to be in equal Competition with you: I do willingly yield, which is no small matter for a Man to do to a more prosperous *Lover*; and if you will repay this piece of Justice with another,
 pray

pray believe, that he who can *Translate*
such an *Author* without doing him wrong,
must not only make me *Glad* but *Proud* of
being his

Very Humble Servant,

Hallifax.

Z 4 Sacellum

Sacellum Appollinare.

Funeral POEM

MEMORIAL

OF THAT

Great Prince and General

GEORGE

Marquis of HALIFAX

BY S. HEAVEN

A

Axis Roll

(For Godhead's but Dominion Vice)

1709

Sacellum Appollinare.

A

Funeral P O E M
T O T H E
M E M O R Y
O F T H A T

Great Patriot and Statesman,

G E O R G E,

Marquis of *HALLIFAX.*

A S H E A V E N it Self's on *Empire's*
Axis Roll'd,
(For Godhead's but Dominion Uncon-
troul'd;

So

So the *Crown'd Head*, the Sublunary *JOVE*,
Does, in his Loyal Orb of *Glory*, move ;
With all his *Bolts of Fate*, in his High-Post
Of *Sovereign Pow'r*, the Weilded *Thunder*
boast.

But, in the highest tow'ring Flight of
KINGS,

'Tis the Great *Statesman* plumes their *Ea-*
gles Wings ;

They move the Great **MACHINE**, *He*
Sets the *Springs*.

And thus, whilst Pregnant **EMPIRE'S**
Labouring Head,

With some vast Off-spring Teems ; the *States-*
man's Aid,

To bring the Fair Divine *Minerva* forth,
Is call'd the Great *Lucina* to the *Birth*.

Wisdom and Counsel ! 'Tis their Min'string
Ray,

Those Bright **CROWN-Genij**, Cheer th'
Imperial Sway :

The

The *Harmony* of **WORLDS** is only **Theirs**;
Empire but *Guides*, 'tis *They* that *Tune* the
Spheres.

Counsel, in *Church* or *State*, the *Warmth*, by
Whom

Aaron's and *Moses's* Budding *Wands* both
Bloom :

Thus **MONARCHY**, what, tho' *She*
Reigns Alone,

'Tis by her *Argus-Eyes* *She* *Guards* her
Throne :

Her *Lights* an *Hundred*, tho' her *Hand's*
but *One*.

Of those *Rich Lights*, Great **HALLIFAX**
shin'd there ;

In *Pow'rs* whole *Constellation*, *None* more
Fair :

In *Calms* or *Storms*, in every varying *Gale*,
The *Furl'd*, the *Hoysted*, or the *Slacken'd*
Sail ;

The

The *Helm* to Manage, or the *Mates* to
Cheer,

No *Pilot-Hand* cou'd ever worrhier *Steer* :

TRUST, the Magnetick *Load-Star* of his
Soul;

And FAITH, and ZEAL, his *Needles* to
the *Pole*.

The Studied *World* was his Long *Theam*,
and All

The *Politick* Movements of the Mighty
Ball :

Yes, the *Old World* He had Fathom'd o're
and o're ;

Nay, had there been yet *Unknown Globe's*
t' explore,

To give that *Head*, that *Reach*, those *Depths*,
their Due,

He'd stood a Fair *Columbus*, for the *New*.

In

In SENATES, There, with all his
Brightest Beams,
Not *Michael*, to th' Embattl'd *Seraphims*,
A Mightier *Leading CHIEF*: Oraculous
Sense:
Victorious *Right*! Amazing *Eloquence*!
All from that clearest *Organ* sweetly Sung:
From that bold *ENGLISH CICERO*'s
Silver Tongue,
Well might Great *TRUTH*, and Genuine
Justice flow;
For he look'd *Upward*, when he Talkt *Below*,
Up to *ASTRÆA*, Heaven's translated
Pride,
Her Righteous *Ballance* his Great *Standard*
Guide.

In Redrefs'd *Wrongs*, and Succour'd
Rights APPEAL,
No Hand, in the *Judiciary Scale*,

More

More Weigh'd and Pois'd, than *HALLIFAX*
alone ;

Ev'n *Half* the Great *Tribunal*, was his Own.
But, in that more Exalted *Patriot-Cause*,
The Moulding of those *Stamps Imperial*,
Laws;

Then, when the whole *Divinity* of *Pow'r*,
In her *Collective Strength*, that *Lab'ring Hour*,
In her All-wise Consulting *Providence*,
Sits, some *New Fair Creations* to Commence;
In that *High Work*, for the Great *FIAT*
Fixt,

No Hand like *His*, the Sovereign *ELE-*
MENTS mixt.

This Fam'd *GAMALIEL* in the Great
State Schools,

Thus by unerring *PRUDENCE* Sacred
Rules;

No wonder, on that *Card'nal Hinge* He
mov'd;

In *Pow'r Craft* Skill'd, that Bold *Arts-Master*
prov'd:

The Great *Performing Part* He had Study'd
thro' ;

And no less learnt the Greater *Duty* too.

The *Publick Spirit*, and the *Active Soul*,
More lively *Warmth*, than e're *Prometheus*
stole,

Those *Champions* both of *Earth* and *Heav'n's*
Just Right,

Bound by their Great *Indenture Tripartite*,
Their equally divided *FAITH* must bring,
Betwixt their *GOD*, their *Country*, and their
King,

In *Pow'r* and *Trust*, thro' his whole *Life's*
long Scene,

Never did *Honour* wear a Hand more *Clean* :

He

He from the *Israel-Propbet's* Copy drew ;
The Suppliant *Naaman* for his Grace might
Sue.

Distress, 'tis true, his Succour ne'r cou'd
lack——

But then her *Laded Chariots* must go Back.
No *Syrian Bribe* was on his Shoulders worn ;
That *Tainted Robe* such TRUTH and
VIRTUE Scorn.

Thus, like the *Eden Pair*, Why is *Truth*
drawn

A *Naked Beauty*, in Transparent Lawn ?
Yes, till her *Innocence*, for Impious Gold,
That Tempting, False *Hesperian Apple*, Sold ;
'Tis from that *Fall*, Original *Blushes* came :
'Twas then She wanted *Fig-Leaves* for her
Shame.

A *Bribe* ! That most loath'd *Thought* ! Ev'n
his whole *Roof*,
His humblest *Menials*, that Temptation-
Proof,

(So Fair their Leading LORD's *Example*
stands)

Oblige with Frank *Full* Hearts, but *Empty*
Hands.

His Favours in that Generous Current run,
As *Providence* vouchsafes her *Rain* and *Sun*.

His *Favours* Cheaper ev'n than *Heav'n's*
Conferr'd :

For, though, like *Heav'n*, th' Imploring
Pray'r He heard :

Yet no *Thanksgiving Offerings* Return'd :

To his Kind G R A C E, no *Gums*, nor *In-*
cense burn'd.

Ay, and 'twas Nobly Brave! What can
more high,

Than an *Unmercenary Greatness* fly ?

If ought his *Obligations* must Defray,

He rather chose that *Heav'n*, than *Man*
should Pay :

A a

Yes

Yes, with a Fair *Ambition*, Just *Disdain*,
Scorn'd less than *JOVE*, his *Golden Show'rs*
shou'd Rain.

And well so High, that *Fair Ambition* tow'r'd;
For *HALIFAX* so Scorn'd, and *JOVE*
so Show'r'd:

Whilst that vast *Affluence* Warm'd his *Fruit-*
ful Soil,

'Till his *Rich Glebe*, and *Loaded Harvest-*
Pile,

With that *Increase*, that *Milky Canaan* flow'd:
Prosperity thus Reap'd, where *Virtue* Sow'd.

NATURE and *FORTUNE*, here, both
Rivals joyn'd.

Which to their Darling *HALIFAX*,
more kind,

Should heap the *Ampler Mass*: *Nature*
her more

Refin'd, and *Fortune* in her *Courser Oar*.

The *World* but Smil'd, where *Heav'n* had
Smil'd before.

Great

Great Blessings, when by Greater *MERIT*
shar'd,

(Not *Providence's* Gift, but her Reward,)
Are all *Heav'n's* Fairest *Blazon*, Noblest
Pride;

Th'*Eternal* *DISPENSATION* justify'd,
The *Righteous Distribution* ought no less:
So Great 'tis to *Deserve*, and then *Possess*.

Nor in Proud *Courts*, nor *States* alone,
that Great

Dictator! Ev'n in the *DESPOTIC* Seat,
In his own narrower *Domestick* Sway,
His *Household* Sweet *Penates* deckt so Gay;
To *VICE*, like *Hannibal* to *Rome*, that Sworn
Eternal *Foe*; and *VIRTUE's* *Champion* born:
To his own *Filial* *Nursery*, so Kind
A *FATHER*, with those *Leading Lights*
He Shin'd:

HONOUR, so Lovely by that *Pencil* drawn,
The Early *Phosphor* to their *Morning Dawn*:

So Fam'd his equally *Paternal Care*,

* *His Advice to a* T' Instruct the *Great*, and to A.
Daughter. dorn the * *Fair*.

Thus BEAUTY's *Toilet* spread so all Di-
vine,

Her *Cabinet-Gems* so furnish'd from That
MINE ;

The *Virgin*, and the *Bridal Coronet*,
Were by Kind HALIFAX, so richly
Set ;

VIRTUE and INNOCENCE at that full
View,

As ev'n th' Original *Eden Landscape* drew ;
All her whole *Hierarchy of Graces* ; not
One least Enamell'd *Heavenly Spark* forgot ;
Each *Star* in the whole *Feminine Renown*,
From *Cassiopea's* CHAIR, to *Ariadne's*
CROWN.

In

In the Rich *Furniture* of that Fair MIND,
Those dazling *Intellectual Graces* shin'd,
To draw the *Love* and *Homage* of Man-
kind;

Nothing cou'd more than his firm FRIEND-
SHIP Charm:

Cheerful, as *Bridal-Songs*; as *South-Suns*,
Warm;

And *Fixt*, as *Northern-Stars*: When e're
He dign'd

The Solemn Honour of his *Plighted Hand*,
He stood a more than Second *Pyldes*;

Unshaken, as *Immutable DECREES*.

But whilst these vast *Perfections* I Recount,
The *Heights* to which those *Soaring Glories*
mount:

My *Muse* thus rapt into that *Cheerful Sphere*;
Is this her *Wailing Dirge*? her *Funeral Tear*?
For his *Sad DEATH*, to Draw his *Glorious*
LIFE!

Paint *Lights* for *Shades*, and *Extasies* for
Grief!

A a 3

Are

Are these the *Melancholy Rites* She brings,
Fit *Airs* to Tune the *Mournful Theme* She
Sings!

Yes, the *True Mourner's* in th' *Historian*
Play'd :

What's Present *Grief*, but Past *Delight* Dis-
play'd :

Counting what once was *Ours*, we need no
more :

To Sum th' *Enjoyment*, does the *Loss* De-
plore.

Besides, What all our *Sable Cavalcade*,
To the Great *DEAD*, our Darkest *Funeral*
Shade?

T' *Illustrious Virtue*, *Grief's* an *Easie Debt*;
Her *Glorious Amulet* but *Cheaply Set* :
She finds the *Diamond*, and *We* the *Jet*.

When *Learning*, *Wisdom*, *Eloquence*, Ex-
pire,
And the Great *SOULS*, (*Sparks of Ce-*
lestial Fire)

Back to their *Elemental Source* Retire :

To

To such *Rich DUST*, in vain we *Pyramids*
Rear ;

For *Mausolæums* are but *Pageants* there.

What's a poor Short-liv'd Pile of *Crumbling*
Earth,

A *Mould'ring Tomb*, t' *Apollinary WORTH* ?
Worth, that so far from such a *Narrow Bound*,
Spreads a *Large Field* ! moves th' *Universal*
Round !

Fills every *Tongue* ! Thus, what no *Urn* con-
tains,

The *World's* the *Casket* to those Great **R E-**
M A I N S.

Nor let *Poetick Vanity* Rehearse
Her *Boasted Dreams*, Her *Miracles* of
V E R S E :

Think, in some poor *Recorded EPITAPH*,
That shallow Page of *Brass*, or *Marble*
Leaf ;

Or in some more *Voluminous Folio* Pile,
A *Dauides*, or *Arthur's Sweating Toil*,

Some Sacred WORTHY's Deathless Fame
 t' Enstal ;

Rais'd by her *Lyres*, like the Old *Theban*
Wall

No ; when Great NAMES ne'r Dye, That
Work alone,

Is all a Fair *Creation* of their *Own*.

True GLORY Shines by her *Own* Lighted
Beam :

'Tis not the *Muses's Song*, but *Muse's*
 T H E A M:

When in Great *HALIFAX*, WIT's
Pantheon fell,

And *Death* now hush'd that Silenc'd ORA-
 CLE ;

From Fair *Eliza's* Hallow'd * *Heli-*
con-Walls,
* Westminster School

Methinks I hear a Fatal *Summon* calls :

When, lo! the *Delphick* * SEER,
 that *Reverend Bard*,

Of Sacred *Literature's* rich *Fount*,
 prepar'd Th'

* Dr. Bus-
 by, who
 dy'd the
 same Day.

Th' Expiring *HALIFAX*, in *Death* to
wait. —

No less Attendant on his *Funeral State*,
Fate to that ever *Honour'd HEAD* could
owe :

LEARNING it self must shake, at such a
Blow.

But, tho' with all this *Mine of Learning*
stor'd;

He *Liv'd*, and *Dy'd*, no Niggard of that
Hoard:

Witness his own long *Pious Foun-*
*ded * Piles*,

* His Free-
School Foun-
dations.

Where Nurur'd *ARTS*, by his *Auspicious*
Smiles,

Tune their *Young Voices* to the *Muse's Song*,
Nerv'd by his *HAND* to *Books and Virtue*,
strong.

Thus, as th' *Old Israel Patriarch*, to his
once
Illustrious Twelve, *HE* to his *Hundred Sons*,
His

His *Fruitful* CHARITY's Adopted Race,
 (With all his Tenderest *Diffusive* Grace,)
 Doals, with a true *Paternal* Glory Crown'd,
 His *Living* and his *Dying* Blessing round.
 Yes, from that *Hand*, the *Scatter'd* Bread
 must fall ;
 He Furnishes those *Numerous* Pencils, all
 To Copy from his Great *Original* :
 Resolv'd, if possible, Resolv'd t' *Inspire*,
 To this *Young* Nursery, his *Cherish'd* Choir.
 His own *Rich* Soul, their *Transmigrated* Fire.

But, why (if 'tis not a too *Bold* Offence,
 To dare *Expostulate* with OMNIPOT-
 TENCE,)

Why should *Prodigious* Worth, from th'
 Orb it warm'd,
 Snatch'd from the *Soil* it Cherisht, *Eyes* it
 charm'd,
 From its *Deserted* Charge, unkindly Fly,
 Quit the *Earth* it Blest, Impoverish *Worlds*,
 and Dye ?

No

No, the Kind *Heavens*, in Mercy, to Rebate
That *Mighty Loss*, the too keen *Edge of Fate*,
Have circled *Virtue* in a *Fence* so High,
As stands so safe, it knows not how to Die;
But founds its own Proud *Immortality*.
For, as some Lofty *Cedar*, long had stood
The *Land-mark* of the *Plain*, and *Glory* of
the *Wood*;
Till the Dread *Voice of Fate*, *Heaven's An-*
gry Blast,
The *Bolt* of the Destroying *Thunder* cast,
All the tall *PRIDE* lies *Faln*.—Yet still
some *Shoot*,
Some tender *Scyen* from the *Sacred ROOT*,
By its *Nutritional PARENT Succours* fed,
Springs, Grows, Spreads, Flourishes; till
th' *Uprear'd Head*,
Dos's t' all its Great *Original HEIGHTS*
improve,
A Second *Pearch* for the Fair *Bird* of
JOVE.

So

So may Great *HALLIFAX* Himself
Survive;

Thus *Fall*, and thus his *Deathless* Virtues
Live;

LIVE in his *Fair* SUCCESSION,
ever Blest;

Whil'*t Honour* Builds its own Rich *PHÆ-*
NIX Nest.



F I N I S.
